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ABSTRACT

The rationale for developing this model is based on the idea that the Office of Education sponsored curriculum projects will in the near future produce a considerable number of choices for school districts across the nation. The model is meant to be used to analyze K-12 social studies curricula. It contains questions in four areas: 1) curricular intent, 2) measurement of the achievement of that intent, 3) validity of the content, and 4) the mechanics of implementation. The answers to the questions will then provide a guide to the selection of one curricula over another. A four page bibliography is provided. (CWB)

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AN APPROACH TO SELECTING AMONG SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA

An Occasional Paper of the Metropolitan
St. Louis Social Studies Center

Alan Tom

December, 1969

SO 000 182

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PREFACE

This paper grew out of my work with a dozen teachers who participated in a project to pilot new social studies materials. Our group had difficulty making a carefully reasoned choice among the available high school materials. This occasional paper is my attempt to develop a systematic approach to selecting among curricula.

A special debt of gratitude goes to Harold Berlak whose thinking greatly influenced mine. My approach was also affected by conversations with Bob deJong and Warren Solomon, by discussions with doctoral students in Social Studies Education at Washington University, and by interaction with teachers in the St. Louis-St. Louis County Social Studies Project. Influential as these people were, however, the approach in the paper is my own.

I wish to thank Mrs. Janet Foard and Mrs. Barbara Morales for their assistance in preparing the manuscript. Finally, I appreciate the editorial assistance given by my wife.

Alan Tom
Washington University

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I. INTRODUCTION

"America," Alexis de Tocqueville noted, "is a land of wonders, in which everything is in constant motion and every change seems an improvement." Few would dispute that our society is a rapidly changing one. It is less certain that every change is an improvement.

Would the distant rumble of a supersonic jet strike you as the "sound" of progress? Certainly the development of a commercial supersonic airliner would speed the delivery of passengers from one side of the continent to the other. However, the increased noise level may be seen by some people to be too high a price to pay for quickening the pace of air travel. Whether or not one views the commercial supersonic jet as an improvement depends in large part on what is given priority: speed or tranquility. Similarly, a consumer may prefer one model of an appliance because it is more durable and less likely to need maintenance than another model. On the other hand a manufacturer may prefer the latter model because its unusual styling may lead consumers to buy a new appliance even if the older model is not yet worn out. Unless agreement can be reached on a criterion for judging the value of an appliance, it is unlikely there will be agreement concerning which model of an appliance is better.

The problem of judging the value of innovations is not unique to business products. Whether to develop a new defense weapon is a problem commonly faced by government officials and legislators. Judgments must also be made among new poverty, health, and educational programs. It is on the last area, educational innovations, that this paper focuses. Specifically, the author is interested in social studies, though the issues raised in this paper probably are relevant to innovations in other subject areas.

Social studies educators and teachers have long disagreed about what should be the basic purpose of social studies education. This lack of agreement on a criterion, as in the earlier examples, tends to make evaluation of a new product most difficult. Yet, until recently few teachers have been concerned about the great variety of proposed purposes because new statements of position have not been accompanied by student materials.[1] In the absence of student materials these statements of position have had little significance for schools: they have been of interest primarily to social studies educators in universities.

In the next few years the market will be flooded with a wide variety of new social studies materials. These materials are the products of curriculum development centers supported by grants from the U.S. Office of Education and private foundations.[2] The centers have brought together scholars, educators, and teachers in order to create alternatives to the standard textbook. Recognizing the market potential of the new curricula, commercial publishers have snapped up many of the national projects. The High School Geography Project will be published by McMillan, the Sociological Resources for Social Studies by Allyn and Bacon, the Amherst History Project by Addison Wesley, and so on. Among the publishers that have already brought out materials based on national projects are Science Research Associates (Senesh materials), American Education Publications (Harvard Social Studies Project), and Holt, Rinehart and Winston (Carnegie-Mellon Social Studies Project). Having national project materials in print will provide schools with alternatives to established textbooks and local curriculum revision efforts. Established texts no doubt will continue, at least in the near future, to capture most of the market. This result is likely because innovations in social studies curricula have tended to be adopted slowly.

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[1] Examples of such statements of position are: Shirley Engle, "Decision Making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction," Social Education, XXIV (November, 1960), 301-04,306; Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf, Teaching High School Social Studies, (New York: Harper & Row, 1955): Philip Hauser, "Social Science Research and the Curriculum" North Central Association Quarterly, 33 (January, 1959), 231-41; Harry S. Broudy, B. Othanel Smith, Joe R. Burnett, Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964); Earl S. Johnson, "The Social Studies Versus the Social Sciences," The School Review, 71 (Winter, 1963), 389-403.

[2] A recent listing of social studies projects has been compiled by the Marin Social Studies Project: A Directory of Research and Curriculum Development Projects in Social Studies Education (201 Tamal Vista Blvd., Corte Madera, California: The Marin Social Studies Project, 1969). A revised edition of the directory will be released in January of 1970.

The effect of the new curricula on local reform attempts is less easy to predict. Local efforts often are motivated by dissatisfaction with available textbooks, but alternatives to established texts are now becoming available through the national projects. The future of local curriculum revision is also in doubt because it usually has little effect on classroom instruction, primarily because the outcome (usually a framework, a content outline, a few suggested activities, a bibliography) cannot be implemented as it stands. Student materials are necessary so that the framework and the content outline can be implemented, but student materials are rarely created as part of a local effort.

Because the national projects are producing student materials, these projects may have considerable impact on classroom instruction. In any case, the projects will open up alternatives to the textbooks generally used in American schools and may, as a result, do away with much of the motivation for local curriculum revision. But predicting that national project materials will significantly influence classroom practice is not to say that this outcome is desirable. Change, as noted earlier, is not necessarily improvement.

The crux of the issue is to identify criteria which teachers and administrators can use to make choices among the available curricula, both new and old. Unfortunately, not enough scholarly effort has been directed to the development of such criteria.[3] The purpose of this occasional paper is to propose criteria which will facilitate the comparison of curriculum proposals. In order to begin this task, the next chapter examines some of the criteria that have been used in the past and suggests why these criteria are inadequate to the contemporary situation.

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[3] Harry V. Scott, "Comparing Curriculum Proposals," Educational Leadership, 25 (December, 1967), 242-48; Irving Morrissett and W. Williams Stevens, Jr., "Curriculum Analysis," Social Education, XXXI (October, 1967), 483-86, 489; Harold Berlak and Alan Tom, "Toward Rational Curriculum Decisions in the Social Studies" The Indiana Social Studies Quarterly, XX (Autumn, 1967), 17-31; Fred M. Newmann, "The Analysis of Public Controversy: New Focus on Social Studies," The School Review, 73 (Winter, 1965), see especially 417-19; Louise L. Tyler and M. Frances Klein, Recommendations for Curriculum and Instructional Materials (Los Angeles: University of California, 1967). The Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development is developing a set of questions and materials to help school systems choose among secondary American Government curricula.

II. COMPARING CURRICULUM PROPOSALS

In the past, selecting curriculum materials has been a relatively simple task. The issue in the end has boiled down to the question: which text shall we use for a particular course? Although an occasional school district has developed materials on its own, most districts lack the human and financial resources necessary to create curriculum materials. As a result school districts tend to restrict their attention to commercial texts. Typically, once every five years a committee is formed to survey the available texts in order to recommend one of them for adoption. Supplemental or enrichment materials may also be chosen, generally on the basis of their correlation with the selected text.

Textbook selection is like buying a car, not only in that both are clearly defined problems, but in addition because textbooks, as well as cars, are all essentially the same. The similarity of product is obvious in the case of cars but may not be so in relation to texts. However, most texts share several characteristics. Textbooks tend to contain masses of facts and generalizations, yet at the same time to include numerous topics. That is, texts tend to be encyclopedic. In addition, the emphasis on facts and generalizations indicates that texts focus on issues of description or explanation. Little attention is given to either ethical or public policy issues, both of which involve values as well as facts and generalizations. Ethical and public policy issues usually are a part of social studies instruction, but generally the teacher, rather than the textbook, introduces these issues. A final shared characteristic is that generalizations made by scholars are presented as if they were facts: rarely is the process examined by which scholars reached these tentative conclusions. Textbooks, therefore, can be characterized as detailed accounts of a variety of topics in which the conclusions of scholars are summarized.[1]

But every teacher knows that textbooks do differ from one another. Moreover, the fact that teachers approach textbook selection with a set of questions indicates that teachers believe these differences can be systematically examined. The nature of the questions, however, suggests that the differences deal not so much with contrasting purposes for social studies instruction as they do with the different ways youngsters might respond to stylistic variations among texts.

The role of the questions can be seen by examining four of the more frequently asked questions:

1. Is the reading level appropriate to the students for whom the book is intended?
2. Is the text factually accurate and does it contain interpretations which are consistent with contemporary scholarship?
3. Is the text attractively illustrated?
4. Will the style of writing hold the interest of the students?

With the exception of number two, these questions involve stylistic concerns: reading level, illustrations, writing style. The illustration and writing style questions help a teacher predict student interest in the materials while the reading level question helps a teacher estimate the ability of students to understand the materials. Although student response is a valid consideration in selecting materials, it does not take into account two basic issues: the purpose of social studies instruction and the selection of content to realize that purpose.

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[1] Exceptions do exist. An example of a text that does involve students in the evaluation of data is: Allan O. Kownslar and Donald B. Frizzle, Discovering American History (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

Even the question related to content (accuracy of facts and interpretations) is not particularly helpful in selecting content. The basic problem is that there is much more accurate content than there is time for social studies instruction. At best, the accuracy question eliminates some "false" content; this question does not aid in reducing to a manageable size the tremendous quantity of "true" content. Moreover, the term content refers to more than facts and interpretations; skills, attitudes, values all are potential content for a social studies course.

In defense of stylistic questions it must be noted that these questions are adequate for distinguishing among most texts now being published. Current texts are much more likely to vary in stylistic terms than in reference to content selection. All that is necessary to see the similarity in content is to compare the tables of contents of well-known textbooks in a particular subject area. If texts in a subject area have similar content, then it is hardly necessary to formulate questions related to content selection.

At the same time one cannot help but wonder whether the stylistic differences emphasized by the four questions are trivial differences. Perhaps writing style and the attractiveness of illustration are the educational equivalents of the superficial styling changes in cars. Reading level may be analogous to such minor design factors as height of seat, amount of luggage space, and visibility. That is, we want to know if a book is appropriate to a group of youngsters just as we want to know if a car "fits" a particular family. Of course, even if we were to decide that the differences emphasized by the analysis question are trivial, we are still left with the fact that differences do exist. If differences in content selection are for the most part not apparent, then why not select texts on other, perhaps less important grounds?

Although this line of thinking may suffice for the present, two or three years from now it will not be an adequate approach. By that time the national curriculum projects, most of which are completed or near completion, will be commercially available. The project materials do not share many of the assumptions of current texts. Specifically, project materials usually are based on goals different from the goals toward which textbooks are directed. As varying approaches to the purposes of social studies instruction become available, there will be a need for new questions that focus on this variable. The old questions may remain, but only if new questions are added can we conclude that we will have a comprehensive approach to comparing curriculum proposals.

III. ALTERNATIVE DIRECTIONS FOR SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTION

Even though curriculum proposals made by educators and social scientists have not brought about a revolution in social studies instruction, these proposals have delineated alternative directions that social studies instruction may take in the future. One type of influence exerted by these proposals is on beginning teachers who, as a part of their teacher training, often read books or articles by curriculum theorists. The proposals also have had considerable impact on the materials developed by the national projects.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the ideas of several representative educators and social scientists. To facilitate the comparison of varying positions, a scheme is developed for classifying similar approaches to social studies instruction. In the next chapter several of the national projects are discussed in terms of this scheme. This procedure provides the reader with both a perspective on the logically possible alternatives and a knowledge of the actual alternatives, i.e., the alternatives for which published materials either exist or will soon exist.

A Scheme for Categorizing Social Studies Positions

Two recent attempts to identify alternate directions for social studies instruction have resulted in the same basic division. The division is between those who view social studies as being primarily concerned with the development of good citizens and those who see the social studies as essentially the same as the social sciences.[1] This way of conceptualizing the alternatives is unfair to those who equate the social studies and the social sciences, for it implies that they are unconcerned with citizenship education. The distinction is also unfair to the advocates of citizenship education, for it suggests they believe that one can become a good citizen without being knowledgeable in the social sciences.

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[1] Shirley Engle, "Objectives of the Social Studies," Current Research in Social Studies, Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University, 40 (March, 1964), 1-12; Dale L. Brubaker, Alternative Directions for the Social Studies (Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1967).

Bernard Berelson has argued that the disagreement between proponents of citizenship education and those of social science knowledge is largely a spurious issue. Phrased differently, the apparent issue disappears:

> As a starter, suppose we were to say that we--all of us involved--want to give high school students the best introduction we can, within limits of practicality, to the best available knowledge from the social science disciplines as a means to the end of producing responsible citizens. That single sentence, which I think would be agreed to by many participants on all sides of the debate, may go a long way toward resolving the issue.[2]

His way of stating the issue does seem to resolve part of it: social science knowledge need not be considered an end in itself but rather as a means to the end of citizenship education.

But agreeing on the end, citizenship education, does not necessarily lead all educators to favor the same means. Berelson sees the means as being "the best available knowledge from the social science disciplines." Jerome Bruner, who shares Berelson's assumption that the social studies are essentially the same as the social sciences, is not so much interested in teaching youngsters social science facts and generalizations (Berelson's position) as he is in having youngsters engage in the same kind of intellectual activity as do practicing social scientists:

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[2] Bernard Berelson, "Introduction," The Social Studies and the Social Sciences, Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Council for the Social Studies (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1962), 6-7.

> The schoolboy learning physics _is_ a physicist, and it is easier for him to learn physics behaving like a physicist than doing something else. The "something else" usually involves...classroom discussions and textbooks that talk about the conclusions in a field of inquiry rather than centering upon the inquiry itself.[3]

The last sentence places Bruner in direct opposition to the social scientists who contributed articles to the book introduced by Berelson. Those social scientists, as Berelson points out, directed their efforts to answering the question: What ought a high school graduate know about my field?[4] In other words, the emphasis is on conclusions, precisely the approach that is criticized by Bruner.

To summarize, Bruner and Berelson both want social studies to be closely related to the social sciences. While Berelson believes that students should learn particular conclusions from the various social sciences, Bruner argues that students should engage in the ways of thinking used by social scientists. Briefly stated, Berelson wants students to learn the products of research; Bruner wants students to employ the process of inquiry. Yet both of them make the same claim for their approaches: this claim is that their particular approach is the one that best produces understanding.[5]

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[3] Jerome Bruner, _The Process of Education_ (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), 14.

[4] "Introduction," _The Social Studies and the Social Sciences_, 4.

[5] Berelson states that the scholars contributing to his volume believe that high school students should study "basic understandings, illustrated by their applications to past and present societies" (p.7); his use of the term _understandings_ indicates he equates the study of conclusions with the process of understanding. On the other hand Bruner believes that understanding results only when one engages in inquiry: "What a scientist does at his desk or in his laboratory, what a literary critic does in reading a poem, are of the same order as what anybody else does when he is engaged in like activities--if he is to achieve understanding." (p.14).

The emphasis on understanding is logical because social scientists see the social sciences as producers of reliable knowledge and of techniques to insure this reliability. Several definitions of the social sciences are quoted to illustrate this point:

> It is a group of disciplines that provide descriptions of human nature, human activity, and human institutions. These disciplines are scientific, first in that they are concerned with telling us What Is, not What Ought To Be; and second, in that they exercise objectivity, pursue special knowledge, and move toward formulation of this knowledge.[6]

> In baldest terms, social scientists share a common concern in the development and use of methods for ordering data systematically and analytically, and for interpreting their findings as objectively as possible.[7]

> With what...are the social sciences concerned? They are concerned with the actualities of human societies in development, with records of past actualities, with knowledge, with thought, and with methods of acquiring knowledge respecting the actualities of human societies in development.[8]

Even in the case of public policy issues, a social scientist is more likely to see his role as a producer of reliable knowledge than as a direct participant in social action:

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[6] Robert Redfield, "The Social Uses of Social Science." Quoted by Dale L. Brubaker, Alternative Directions for the Social Studies, 25.

[7] Pendelton Herring, "The Objectives and Methods of the Social Sciences - The Essential Functions of Research," New Viewpoints in the Social Sciences, Twenty-eighth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (Washington, D. C.: The Council, 1958), 2.

[8] Charles A. Beard, The Nature of the Social Sciences, Part VII of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Chairman A. C. Krey (17 vols; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 3.

> Not only are solid facts to guide policy formulations woefully inadequate, but also misinformation to misguide policymakers often seems abundantly available. For example, who really knows whether public assistance undermines or strengthens individual initiative? Or whether or not Blue Cross, Blue Shield, or automobile insurance may not be undermining the insured person's sense of individual responsibility? To help supplant myth with fact and conjecture with knowledge is a contribution which researchers can make.[9]

Since social scientists see the social sciences as a major source of reliable knowledge concerning human activities and institutions, it is natural for them to conclude that studying the social sciences leads to understanding. In turn, understanding of human activities and institutions is associated, often implicitly, with responsible citizenship.[10]

Figure I represents the relationships between the social sciences and citizenship education for those who stress the central role of the social sciences in social studies education. The arrows indicate temporal movement, from what students study (the social sciences) to the instrumental outcome (student understanding of human behavior and institutions or ability to think like a social scientist) to the ultimate outcome (good citizenship on the part of the student).

Those who emphasize social science content and instrumental outcomes often have difficulty defining clearly what they mean by good or responsible citizenship. This problem often leads to a second one: a vague statement of the way in which either a student's increased understanding or his improved thinking skills would make him a better citizen. An ambiguous statement of the relationship between instrumental and final outcomes makes it difficult not only to evaluate the approaches proposed by Bruner and Berelson but also to compare either of these to other alternatives.

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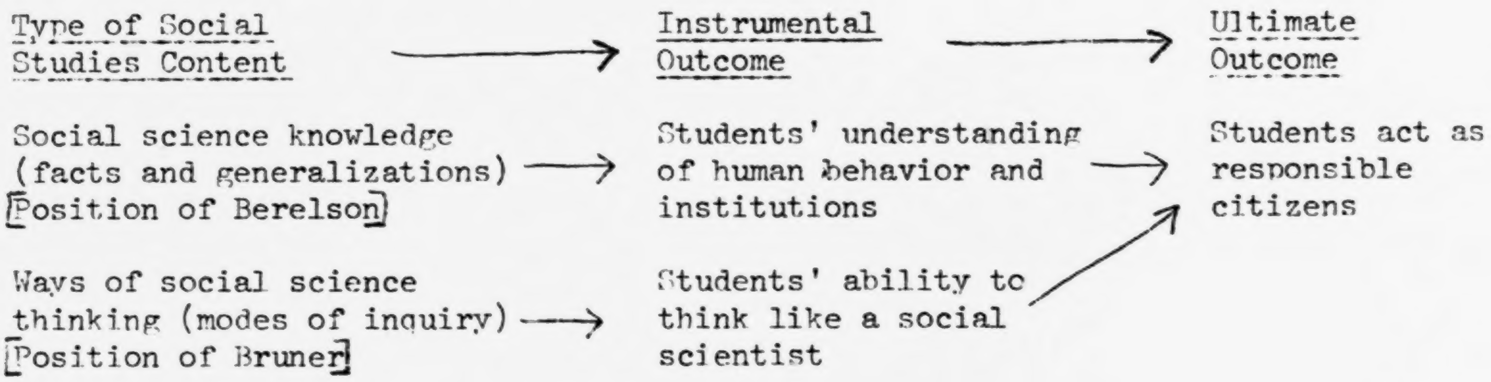
[9] Robin Williams, Social Action and the Social Scientist, Proceedings of the 5th Annual Intergroup Relations Conference, University of Houston, April 18, 1964, Prepared by the Public Affairs Research Center (University of Houston, Occasional Paper #2), 8.

[10] For example, Jerome Bruner, Although he never uses the term citizenship, asserts that subject matter is not an end in itself: "It is only in a trivial sense that one gives a course to 'get something across,' merely to impart information...Unless the learner also masters himself, disciplines his taste, deepens his view of the world, the 'something' that is got across is hardly worth the effort of transmission." Toward a Theory of Instruction (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), 73. The goals proposed by Bruner may be his way of defining responsible citizenship.

Figure I
The Social Sciences and
Citizenship Education


Type of Social Studies Content
Instrumental Outcome
Ultimate Outcome
Social science knowledge (facts and generalizations) [Position of Berelson]
Students' understanding of human behavior and institutions
Students act as responsible citizens
Ways of social science thinking (modes of inquiry) [Position of Bruner]
Students' ability to think like a social scientist

Many social studies educators do not share Bruner and Berelson's view that pursuit of understanding is an adequate preparation for responsible citizenship. One such educator is Shirley Engle. Engle contends that decision making should be the core of social studies instruction.[11] Engle is concerned with two levels of decisions: interpretation of data[12] (a version of understanding) and policy determination. Policy issues, Engle points out, involve values as well as interpretation of data:

> In dealing with the issue of which of two proposed solutions to the problems of farm surpluses is best, one may conclude, factually, that government support of farm prices leads inevitably to inefficiency in agriculture and to unnecessarily

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[11] Engle, "Decision Making," Social Education, XXIV, 301-04, 306.

[12] Engle defines interpretation of data as "deciding what a group of descriptive data means, how these data may be summarized or generalized, what principles they suggest." "Decision Making," Social Education, XXIV, 301-04, 306.

> high cost for food and fiber which the farm produces. This much is a factual conclusion. But this does not necessarily get us out of the woods, for one might still prefer government supported agriculture to an unregulated agriculture because he feared the control of large agricultural corporations (which will almost inevitably follow the removal of government restrictions - another factual generalization) more than he fears government controls. The latter decision is a value judgment...[13]

Engle goes on to argue that if responsible decision making is the end of social studies instruction, then the study of values must be a central concern of social studies instruction.

It is precisely on the issue of values that many social scientists get disturbed. Philip Hauser, a sociologist, takes the position that value judgments have no place in either social science research or social science instruction. Hauser is concerned about the potpourri of research results and normative judgments that often occur in textbooks and courses of study. If value judgments are to be included in the curriculum, they should appear in courses labelled ethics, religion, civics. "By keeping such value judgments out of the social sciences, or minimizing their inclusion, not only is the integrity of social science maintained, but the value judgments themselves are not given a false aura of validity by association with, or as presumed derivations of, 'science.'"[14]

Hauser's arguments appear to be valid, yet separating value judgments from social science content creates other difficulties. How can adults relate social science knowledge to value issues if, as students, they do not have disciplined practice in this task? Indeed, separating the two implies that it is intellectually unsound to relate social science knowledge to value issues.[15]

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[13] Engle, "Decision Making," Social Education, XXIV, 303-04.

[14] Philip Hauser, "Social Science Research and the Curriculum." Reprinted in James Shaver and Harold Berlak, Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), 266-67.

But those who argue that values should be an integral part of social studies instruction do not agree on an approach to this task. To be specific, a teacher can handle an issue involving values in at least two different ways. Let us assume that freedom of speech in the United States is under discussion. If a student suggests that freedom of speech should have no limits, the teacher may say either: "Your answer is right (or wrong) because...." or "Can you support your answer with good reasons?" In the first case the teacher is attempting to convince the student of the validity of someone else's answer to the issue. The teacher in the second instance is challenging the student to develop his own answer to the issue.

The first approach is sometimes referred to as "teaching values" while the second one is labelled "teaching about values." This way of making the distinction, however, does not specify carefully how the approaches differ. A more precise pair of terms is adjustment and self-development. To evaluate a youngster's answer as right (or wrong) is to identify, implicitly or explicitly, a standard against which the answer is being judged: the youngster must "adjust" his answer to that standard so that his answer is "right." The standard may represent local community norms, middle class values, the preferences of his teachers, etc. In all cases the task of the student is to "adjust" or "adapt" his value orientation to that of a reference group.[16]

---

[15] James Shaver and Harold Berlak, "The Social Sciences and the Curriculum," Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies, 259.

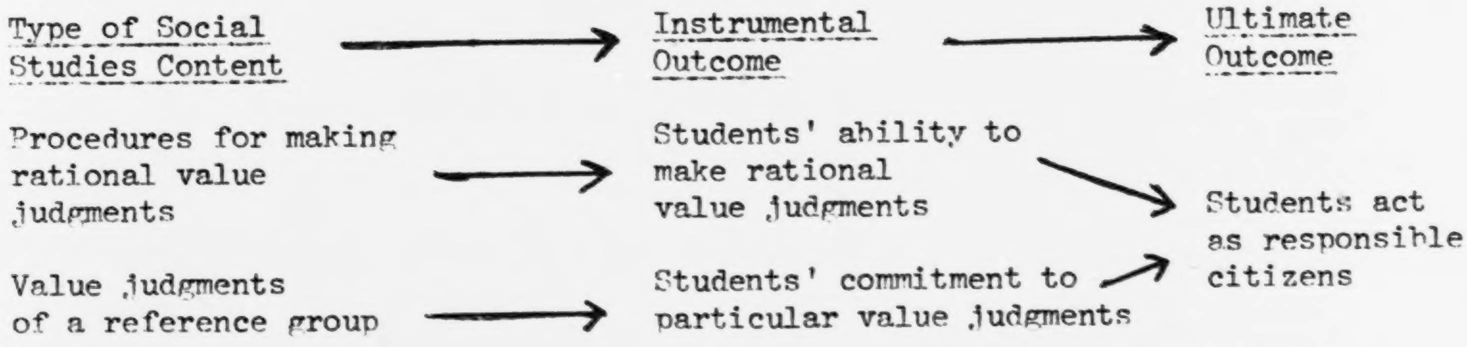
[16] The term reference group includes any grouping whose values could provide a standard for a youngster, i.e., his peer group, a social class, a community, the teachers in his school, the friends of his parents.

To request that a youngster support his answer with reasons is to say that he is to "develop" his own position. In addition it is implied that some positions are more valid than others: if all positions are seen to be equally valid, there is no need to request supporting reasons. But validity is not a question of whether the *answer* is consistent with a standard so much as it is a question of whether the *reasoning* leading to the answer is rational.[17]

Figure II summarizes the relationships between value judgments and citizenship education for those who believe that the study of values should be a central concern of social studies instruction. As in the case of Figure I, the arrows in Figure II refer to temporal sequence. Type of content (column one) leads to instrumental outcomes (column two) which result in ultimate outcomes (column three). Both approaches have responsible citizenship as the ultimate outcome.

Figure II

Value Judgments and
Citizenship Education


Type of Social Studies Content
Instrumental Outcome
Ultimate Outcome
Procedures for making rational value judgments
Students' ability to make rational value judgments
Students act as responsible citizens
Value judgments of a reference group
Students' commitment to particular value judgments

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[17] Rational is defined by the Harvard Project (as published by American Education Publications) in the following way: "Opinion issues *can* be resolved through rational discourse. There *are* objective standards for judging the rationality and validity of positions and thereby showing that some opinions *are* better than others...Briefly, a position or opinion that is supported by reliable evidence, that is consistent, that takes into account analogous situations, and that offers useful definitions of vague terms is more valid than a position that is unsupported by evidence, inconsistent, insensitive to analogies, and uses ambiguous language." *Cases and Controversy: Guide to Teaching The Public Issues Series* (Middleton, Connecticut: American Education Publications, 1967), 7.

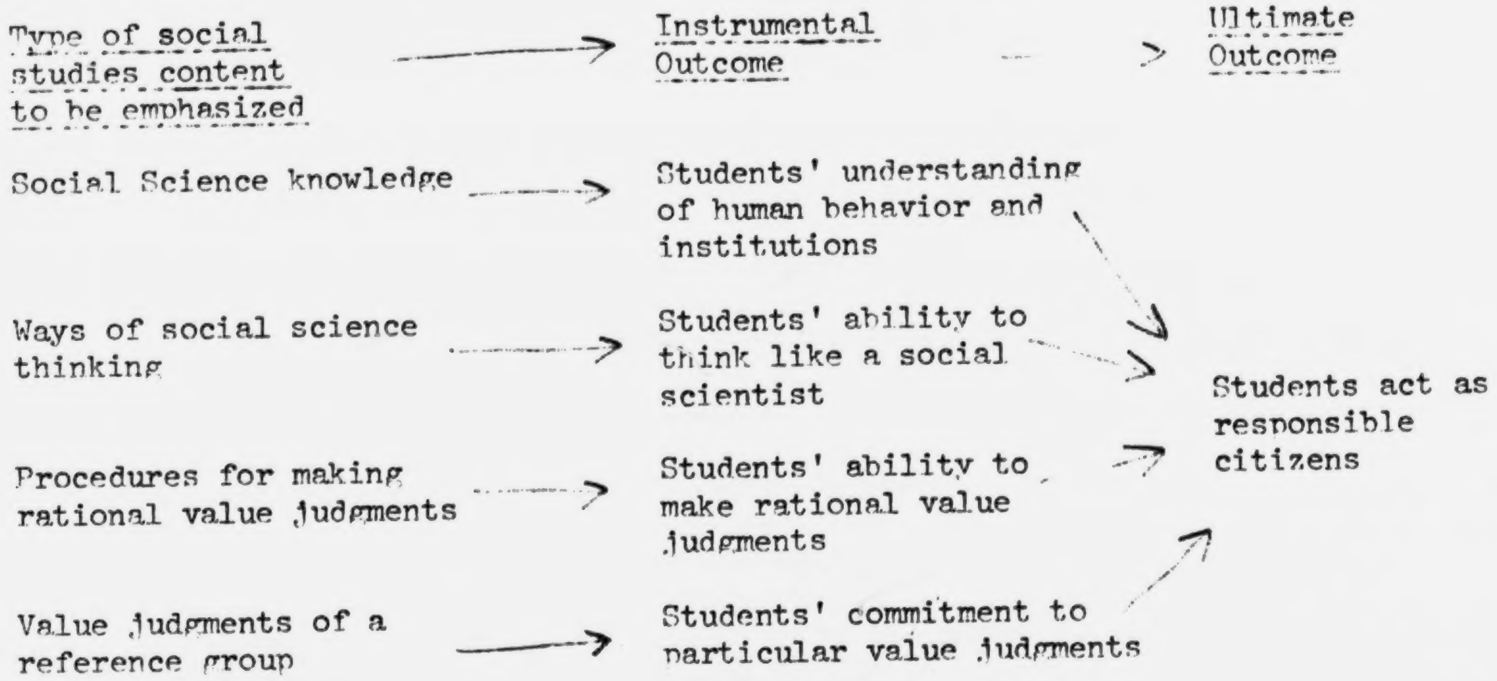
Educators who emphasize the place of value judgments in social studies education may encounter definitional problems. Those who stress the making of rational value judgments often do not provide a definition of the term rational. Since this term is of central importance, it must be carefully defined. Educators who emphasize the product, particular value judgments, need to identify precisely which value judgments are to be taught.

In both Figures I and II, distinctions between types of content may be seen as artificial. For instance, a student cannot think like a social scientist without employing social science knowledge. Moreover, learning ways of social science thinking also entails the acceptance of the value judgments of a reference group, social science scholars; scholarly values include objectivity, pursuit of truth, freedom of thought, and so on. Similarly, a student brings his own values, obtained from a variety of reference groups, to any situation where he tries to make a "rational" value judgment. No doubt it is impossible to organize a social studies course using only one of the four types of content.

But it is possible to base a course primarily on one of four types of content. Other types of content may be included, but their use is determined by the type of content that is dominant. That is, in a course where major emphasis is on the teaching of particular value judgments, only social science knowledge that supports these judgments is introduced. By the same token value judgments are excluded from a social science inquiry course because the emphasis is on understanding, not judging, human behavior and institutions. However, such a course implicitly teaches scholarly values.

Figure III

Alternative Social Studies Positions


Type of social studies content to be emphasized
Instrumental Outcome
Ultimate Outcome
Social Science knowledge
Students' understanding of human behavior and institutions
Ways of social science thinking
Students' ability to think like a social scientist
Procedures for making rational value judgments
Students' ability to make rational value judgments
Value judgments of a reference group
Students' commitment to particular value judgments
Students act as responsible citizens

Figures I and II can be combined to create a scheme for categorizing alternative social studies positions. The result, Figure III, indicates that each of the four positions has the same ultimate goal: responsible citizenship. The instrumental outcomes are so different that one cannot help but believe that they are a reflection of varying conceptions of responsible citizenship. Indeed, the term citizenship education has been defined at one time or another as being: consumer education, commitment to the American Creed, personal adjustment, clarification of positions on public issues, mastery of basic facts in American History, or some other end.

It seems highly unlikely that any one of the interpretations of responsible citizenship will ever be accepted by all social studies educators. In the absence of such consensus, the question becomes how one decides whether an interpretation of citizenship education is valid. Only after such a determination is made can one hope to judge which of the instrumental outcomes is most appropriate. An approach to determining the validity of conceptions of citizenship education is presented later in this paper.

Contributions of the Scheme

One major contribution of the scheme presented in Figure III is that it revises a basic distinction made by many social studies educators. This distinction is between social studies as the developer of good citizens in contrast to social studies as essentially the same as the social sciences. We should, as Berelson notes, all agree that citizenship education is the primary end of social studies instruction. The question is not, therefore, citizenship education versus the social sciences. The issue is to find a valid concept(s) of citizenship education and to discover how that concept(s) may be efficiently attained.

A second contribution of the scheme is that it provides a map of several logically possible alternatives. For the map to be of use, however, a person must be able to place actual curriculum proposals in the scheme. In addition, the scheme should aid one's attempt to compare and contrast various curriculum proposals. In the next chapter the usefulness of the scheme will be tested by applying a variety of curriculum proposals to it.

IV. SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA

To facilitate the placement of various curriculum proposals in the scheme, it is desirable to focus attention on one part of the scheme. The part of the scheme used in this chapter is *type of content*. As one examines a curriculum proposal, it is relatively easy to identify the type of content, but it may be difficult to specify the instrumental or final outcomes. The latter two phenomena may be vaguely stated, yet they are implicit in the type of content that is emphasized.

The Scheme: Four Types of Content

The four types of content identified in the previous chapter are: social science knowledge, ways of social science thinking, procedures for making rational value judgments, and value judgments of a reference group. These four types of content can be arranged on a grid (see Figure IV). The grid is composed of two dimensions: product (conclusions) process (inquiry) and descriptive issues--prescriptive issues.

Figure IV
Type of Content Emphasized

	Product (emphasis on conclusions)	Process (emphasis on inquiry)
Descriptive issues (What the world is or has been like)	Social science knowledge	Ways of social science thinking
Prescriptive issues (What the world should be or should have been like)	Value judgments of a reference group	Procedures for making rational value judgments

Two types of content (social science knowledge and value judgments of a reference group) are examples of products. That is, both emphasize end points or conclusions. In one case the product is contemporary social science scholarship while in the other the product is some group's value preferences. The task of the student is to learn and/or become committed to these products.

The other two types of content (social science ways of thinking and procedures for making rational value judgments) are processes. In one instance inquiry occurs into value issues while inquiry in the other instance is into issues of fact and explanation. Both types of content involve the student in a decision making process, either choosing positions on value issues or judging the truth of statements.

Both types of social science content (knowledge and ways of thinking) focus on descriptive issues. A descriptive issue involves what the world is (has been) like. Examples of descriptive issues are the who, what, where, when questions: "Who first domesticated cattle?" or "What is the effect of integrated housing on racial attitudes?" or "Where was there the least opposition to Prohibition?" or "When did the outbreak of World War I become inevitable?" The answers to these factual, causal, and interpretive questions attempt to describe some aspect of the social world. These descriptions of the social world are social science knowledge, and the process of validating these descriptions is what we have termed social science ways of thinking.

The two types of value content (value judgments of a reference group and procedures for making rational value judgments) involve prescriptive issues, i.e., what the world should be (should have been) like. A prescriptive issue calls for a decision as to what ought to be done, not what the world is like. Value judgments, because they involve deciding what ought to be done, are prescriptive statements. An example may be useful at this point. Let us take the value judgment: capital punishment should be abolished. This value judgment prescribes what ought to be done, i.e., eliminate capital punishment. The judgment is prescriptive regardless of whether it is made by a student on the basis of someone else's values (reference group) or on the basis of his own reasoning (procedures for making rational value judgments).[1]

The meaning of the last few paragraphs may not be clear to the reader: certainly they have been difficult to write. But the main point is simple. The four types of content are logically different from one another along two dimensions: product--process and descriptive--prescriptive issues. When conclusions of a prescriptive nature are emphasized, the result is content referred to in Figure IV as value judgments of a reference group. Conclusions of a descriptive nature are social science knowledge. Inquiry into prescriptive issues refers to procedures for making rational value judgments. Lastly, inquiry into descriptive issues involves ways of social science thinking.

Social Studies Curricula and the Scheme

For many years curricula focusing on social science knowledge have been dominant. Textbooks, as noted earlier, are summaries of contemporary scholarship, i.e., encyclopedias of social science knowledge. However, few of the rational social studies projects have as their primary aim the mastery of social science knowledge.

One project that does focus on knowledge is the Georgia Anthropology Curriculum Project. This commitment to knowledge is reflected in several of the "fundamental assumptions" made by project personnel:

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[1] Additional examples involving the distinction between descriptive and prescriptive issues are given in Cases and Controversy, 4.

> Published texts and curricular guides conform to a restricted view of children's interests and do not regard the social studies as a systematic vehicle for conveying knowledge...
>
> The subject matter of the social sciences provides the materials for building an elementary social studies program, both from the standpoint of content and methodology...
>
> A subject matter organization concentrates on the school task of the diffusion of knowledge...[2]

The experimental units created for elementary school stress anthropological knowledge, especially concepts from that discipline, and the evaluation conducted by the staff and by doctoral students emphasized the mastery of anthropological knowledge.[3]

Another project that focuses on social science content is the Elementary School Economics Program at the University of Chicago. The project has developed student materials and teacher guides for units to be used in grades four through six. The purpose of the units is to have students "comprehend, utilize, and retain basic economic concepts."[4]

The objectives in the daily lesson plans indicate that considerable attention is given to the comprehension of basic concepts. Several typical objectives from fourth and fifth grades are listed below:

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[2] Marion J. Rice, "Premises of the Anthropology Curriculum Project (Elementary)" in A Panel Report on the Anthropology Curriculum Project, General Information Series. No. 4, Anthropology Curriculum Project (Athens: University of Georgia, 1965), 1-2.

[3] Marion J. Rice, "Evaluation in the Anthropology Curriculum Project," A paper read at the 48th annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D. C., November, 1968, General Information Series No. 6, Anthropology Curriculum Project (Athens: University of Georgia, 1969).

[4] Background and Evaluation of the Elementary School Economics Program Industrial Relations Center (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1965), 1.

> To develop in students an understanding of: (1) The priority of human wants and (2) The characteristics of human wants....
>
> To develop in students an understanding of: (1) What money is and (2) How money functions as a medium of exchange....
>
> To develop in students an understanding of how production marketing, and consumption are related.

Practical applications of the economic concepts are introduced in the sixth grade units.

Both the Elementary School Economics Program and the Anthropology Curriculum Project stress the learning of social science concepts. Typical concepts in the anthropology course are participant observation, role, enculturation, habitation site, artifacts, surplus, organic material. Scarcity, wants, money, price, demand, marketing are representative concepts included in the economics course.

The economics and anthropology courses also contain facts and generalizations but not nearly as many of them as does the normal textbook. Yet texts are classified in the same category, social science knowledge, as are these two courses. This category, consequently, is a broad category, one that includes a variety of forms of social science knowledge, i.e., facts, concepts, generalizations, theories. The category may in fact be too broad; the only characteristic that the various forms of knowledge seem to share is that they are the products of social science investigation.

Teachers, as a whole, have preferred curricula that emphasize the study of social science knowledge. The reasons for this predisposition are easy to discover. Teachers usually receive an education that focuses on knowledge; social science courses in college generally avoid ethical concerns and rarely involve students in social science inquiry. Another factor is the widely held view that education should be concerned primarily with the transmission of knowledge to young people.

Yet, most of the new projects have rejected an emphasis on social science knowledge. Many of these projects have turned to social science inquiry as the most appropriate focal point for social studies education. Although these projects do not eliminate the teaching of social science knowledge, their statements of purpose do place more emphasis on inquiry than on knowledge.[5]

The sociology course, Inquiries in Sociology, being created by Sociological Resources for the Social Studies is an example of an emphasis on social science inquiry.[6] In this high school course students are to learn both sociological knowledge and techniques of sociological inquiry. The former includes such topics as socialization, stratification, and deviance while the latter refers to such techniques as research design, experimental and control groups, rank-order correlation, interpretation of tables.[7] The description of the course, however, places considerably more emphasis on inquiry than on knowledge. One large section of a newsletter article is entitled "At the Root of the Trouble: Asking Questions." In this section the authors note that students rarely can pose good questions and that a number of studies

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5. It is important to distinguish between the stated intentions of a curriculum developer and the intentions implicit in the materials created for students: stated intentions are not necessarily carried out in practice.

6. Sociological Resources for Social Studies is also preparing a series of brief, self-contained units (called "episodes") on topics or subfields of sociology.

7. Sociological Resources for the Social Studies Newsletter, No. 6 (Ann Arbor: American Sociological Association, Fall, 1968), 1.

indicate that more learning occurs when students do assume an active, questioning posture. "Considering this evidence, we decided to give students actual experience with the work of sociologists, requiring them to pursue questions and manipulate data for themselves."[8]

The High School Geography Project also seems to stress inquiry more than knowledge. Geographical knowledge is taught, but it is seen as the means to bringing the excitement and reality of geography into the classroom. Students are to behave like geographers:

> Professional geographers are doing important things in industry and government. They are helping to plan new cities and to rebuild old ones...Geographers are among those who are wrestling with world-wide crises of of population and food supply, with political boundaries and cultural conflicts, too.
>
> In the classroom, students using the new materials experience some of this reality by being city planners, executives of a corporation, or representatives of a make believe state...The students are doing and thinking.[9]

The ultimate goal of the High School Geography Project can be described as giving the student "ways of investigating the world and ways of organizing knowledge about the world that will be useful all through his future years...."[10]

Another effort that emphasizes inquiry is that of the Committee on the Study of History, commonly known as the "Amherst Project." The

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[8] SRSS Newsletter, No. 6, p. 2.

[9] "The High School Geography Project," four page mimeographed statement (Association of American Geographers, 1967), 2.

[10] James M. Becker, "The Current 'Revolution' in the Social Studies," Intercom, 9 (September-October, 1967), 40-41.

Amherst Project is concerned with the implications, for the study of history, of what has been called "discovery" learning. Discovery learning, according to Richard Brown who directs the project, rests on the hypothesis that the student learns best as an active inquirer rather than as a recipient of answers to questions formulated by others. To be engaged in discovery learning, therefore, means that "the way the scholar learns may be a useful model for all learning, including that which goes on in a classroom."[11]

Sociological Resources for the Social Studies, the High School Geography Project, and the Amherst Project involve inquiry in only one of the disciplines. Other national projects stress inquiry, but combine several disciplines into a multiple-year curriculum. The Carnegie-Mellon University Project is an example of an integrated curriculum which appears to place more emphasis on inquiry than on knowledge. The Carnegie-Mellon Project is integrated in the sense that the inquiry skills are sequentially developed and the four year curriculum draws upon knowledge from several of the social sciences.[12] The emphasis on inquiry is evident in the rationale written to accompany an adaptation of the materials published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston:

> Cramming facts and generalizations from a textbook into his head cannot meet the challenge of the knowledge explosion. Unless a student can inquire independently of the questions which teachers use to cue him, he is not equipped to be an independent thinker and a responsible citizen of a democracy....

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[11] "Richard Brown Replies," Social Education, XXXI (November, 1967), 584.

[12] Political science (grade 9), economics (grade 9), history (grades 10 & 11), behavioral sciences (grade 12) and humanities (grade 12).

> Because no one knows what problems will be paramount in the society ten or twenty years hence, we believe that the ability to use the tools of inquiry is the best possible preparation for citizenship.[13]

Moreover, even when Fenton speaks of knowledge to be learned by students, he often defends it on the basis that this knowledge is essential to the productive use of the mode of inquiry by the students.[14]

Another curriculum which integrates the social sciences and purports to emphasize social science inquiry is the three-year sequence developed by the Social Science Curriculum Study Center at the University of Illinois. The Illinois Project, directed by Ella Leppert, focuses on teaching "those concepts that are essential to understanding the structure of man's social order and how this social order relates to the individual in his own and in other cultures in time and place."[15] The concepts that have been selected for "durability and universality" are: socialization, economic constraint, political power, culture, cultural change. An emphasis on inquiry is to accompany the teaching of the five concepts:

> In the process of learning to view new cultures in terms of the institutional arrangements that their members have developed to cope with the persistent problems of economic constraint, political power, and socialization, and in terms of changes that take place within cultures, a conscious effort is made to engage the student in the process of social inquiry. Learning experiences provide opportunity for students in each of the sequential courses to learn to use the criteria and to develop the attitudes of social scientists.[16]

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[13] Edwin Fenton, Developing a New Curriculum: A Rationale for the Holt Social Studies Curriculum (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 6, 15.

[14] Fenton, Rationale, 15-16.

[15] Ella C. Leppert and Roland F. Payette, Project Rationale, Social Science Curriculum Study Center (University of Illinois, June, 1966), 2.

[16] Leppert and Payette, Project Rationale, 3.

In addition to inquiring as social scientists, students are to learn to respond "with a sense of feeling, with a sense of value, and with a degree of acceptance or rejection to the human condition."[17]

Valuing and feeling appear to be secondary objectives for the Illinois Project. For a small number of projects, value inquiry appears to be the focus for a portion of a course or, in a few cases, for the entire course. Part of the Holt program has a value inquiry orientation: "Tradition and Change in Four Societies" and "Humanities in Three Cities" fall into this category.[18] Another program that focuses on value inquiry is ECON 12, a twelfth-grade one-semester economics course developed at San Jose State College. In this course students learn economic analysis in order to deal more intelligently with value questions that interest them. Specifically, students are to use "economic knowledge and reasoning to analyze public policy controversy and to make personal economic decisions based on an understanding of the options available...in this economy."[19]

Both the ECON 12 course and the portions of the Holt program dealing with values are primarily concerned with using social science knowledge and inquiry to analyze value-laden situations. With the exception of the Holt course "Humanities in Three Cities," the students are not asked to develop and defend positions on value issues. ECON 12 and most of the Holt Social Studies Curriculum have the restricted aim of giving students experience in analyzing value issues.

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17. Leppert and Payette, Project Rationale, 3.

18. Edwin Fenton, Developing a New Curriculum, 5-6.

19. A Summary Description of the ECON 12 Teaching System, Economics Education Center (San Jose: San Jose State College, 1968), 1.

The Harvard Social Studies Project is one project that does involve students in taking positions on value issues and defending these positions:

> The model citizen is one who, in the manner of an intelligent journalist, engages in dialogue with others in an attempt to reach positions on controversial public issues. The function of dialogue is to provide clarification, allow for the justification of one's position, and to gain cognizance of positions and justifications other than one's own.[20]

Although analysis or clarification is one element of the dialogue on public issues, the dialogue is also concerned with commitment to a position and the justification for that commitment.

A project with an orientation similar to that of the Harvard Project is the Elementary School Social Science Curriculum at Washington University. The developers of this curriculum propose to:

1. Provide students with an understanding of democratic principles, institutions, and processes
2. Develop in students the analytical strategies for dealing with social and political controversy
3. Develop a concern and interest among students in public policy issues that face communities and the nation.[21]

These objectives are basic to the curriculum authors' concept of citizenship education, i.e., "that education which makes it more likely that students will possess the knowledge, intellectual skills, and commitment which will serve them as responsible individuals in a free society."[22]

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[20] Newmann, "The Analysis of Public Controversy," 423. A detailed explanation of the Harvard Project rationale is contained in: Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, Teaching Public Issues in the High School (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966).

[21] Project abstract, Metropolitan St. Louis Social Studies Center (St. Louis: Washington University, n.d.), 1.

[22] Harold Berlak and Timothy Tomlinson, The Development of a Model for the Metropolitan St. Louis Social Studies Center, A Final Report to the U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Research, for Project No. Z-004. Chapters III and IV of the final report outline the project's goals, content, procedures, and student materials.

The Washington University Elementary Project, as the Harvard Project, does take students beyond analysis into the area of commitment. However, neither of them go the next step, having students take action on the basis of their commitments. One of the men associated with the Harvard Project has stated explicitly that the Harvard Project is not necessarily intended to develop "motives toward and competence in political action."[23] The Washington University Elementary Project developers stress analysis and commitment; they do not advocate having youngsters take action related to their commitments.

At this point it would be useful to return to the original scheme of the four kinds of content and relate various projects to that scheme. The four types of content are: procedures for making rational value judgments, value judgments of a reference group, ways of social science thinking, and social science knowledge. The last category, social science knowledge, has been largely ignored by the national projects; textbooks dominate this category. The projects are much more concerned with the two kinds of inquiry. Figure V is an elaboration of these two categories and attempt to classify several of the projects in the expanded scheme. As one examines the scheme in Figure V, two factors should be kept in mind. One is that the categorization is based on the stated aims of the various projects; the aims embedded in the actual materials produced by the projects may be different. The other factor is that the projects do not fall neatly into the system of categories. At least in one case, the Holt Curriculum, the author considered it necessary to have

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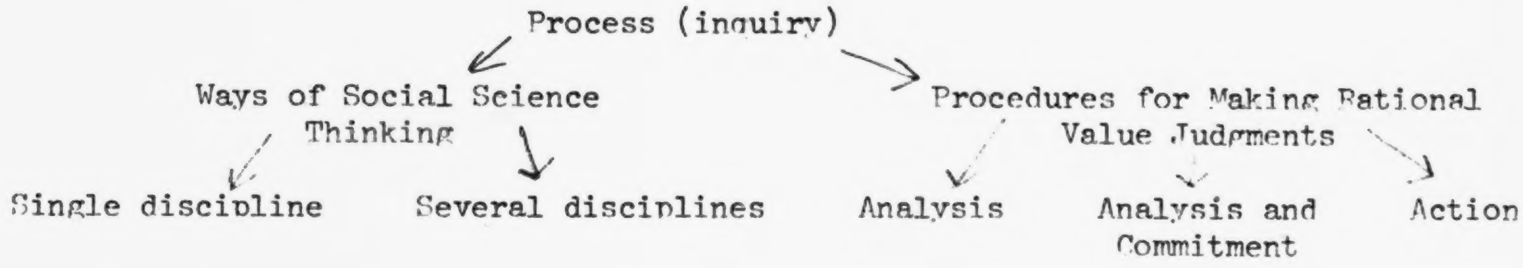
[23] Newmann, "The Analysis of Public Controversy," 423.

Figure V

Elaboration of the Inquiry Categories


Process (inquiry)
Ways of Social Science Thinking
Procedures for Making Rational Value Judgments
Single discipline
Several disciplines
Analysis
Analysis and Commitment
Action

Single discipline	Several disciplines	Analysis	Analysis and Commitment	Action
Sociological Resources, Geography Project, Amherst Project	Illinois Project Holt(Carnegie-Mellon)	ECON 12 Holt(Carnegie-Mellon)	Harvard Washington	None

a dual classification; in other cases classifications were made according to what appeared to be the dominant stated aim of a particular project.

None of the projects reviewed by the author seem to be interested in the fourth kind of content: value judgments of a reference group. In fact the reaction to this approach found in a Newsletter from the Sociological Resources for the Social Studies is characteristic of the disdain that many national project authors feel for what is often termed indoctrination:

> We must question the customary and the hallowed--as well as the exotic and deviant--or go out of business. The parents of one student, however, protested the way our course encouraged the temerity to question. They suceeded in stopping the course where it was being given a trial run in a university town. By teaching the young how to question, the course was subverting American institutions. On the whole, we're rather pleased with that reaction, not because we want to subvert our institutions, but because it is very rewarding to rekindle a passion for inquiry likely to have been suppressed through ten grades of disciplined indoctrination.[24]

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[24] SRSS Newsletter, No. 6, 2.

V. A MODEL FOR CURRICULAR DECISION MAKING

Without doubt, the national projects are creating a wide variety of curriculum materials. Some of these materials are commercially available; others will be published in the next year or two.

As more and more new materials are published, each school district must seriously consider whether its course of study should be replaced by one or more of the new social studies curricula. Guidelines for making such a decision are not developed in the initial chapters of this paper; rather, these chapters describe the range of alternatives from which choices can be made. However, several issues involved in choosing among curricula are discussed in the first four chapters. Chapter one, for example, makes the point that criteria are needed to judge whether a curricular change is an improvement while the second chapter indicates that the commonly used criteria are insufficent. Chapter three argues that social studies instruction must have citizenship education as its ultimate goal, although different instrumental goals may be used to achieve that final goal. Obviously, a crucial point is how one defines citizenship education.

Citizenship education is the starting point of the decision-making model described in the remaining chapters. The next chapter outlines an approach to analyzing and choosing among varying concepts of citizenship education. That is, suggestions are given to help phrase each curriculum's concept of citizenship education in clear and simple terms; a strategy for choosing among competing definitions of citizenship is also provided. Another element of the model is curriculum evaluation, i.e., evidence of the extent to which students master the objectives derived from a particular concept of citizenship education. Stated simply, evaluation evidence answers the question of whether students studying a curriculum learn what they are supposed to learn. Evaluation is the topic of chapter seven.

Chapter eight discusses a third part of the decision-making model: validity of content. Content can be invalid in at least two ways. The content may include inaccurate social science statements (factual errors or false generalizations) or it may misrepresent the structure(s) of a social science discipline. Examining validity of content is important because it is quite possible for a curriculum to have a worthwhile concept of citizenship, to be effective in realizing this concept, and yet to contain major inaccuracies in content.

Lastly, problems related to implementing a new curriculum must be considered before making any decision to replace established courses. Careful thought must be given to such questions as the cost of a new curriculum, teacher retraining needed for effective use of the new materials, the reading level of the materials in relation to that of the students. These and related issues are handled in chapter nine. Implementation issues often are of particular significance, especially in districts that have inadequate financial resources.

Each of the four elements of the decision-making model raises issues important to the selection of a curriculum. An obvious question is which of the four - citizenship education, evaluation, validity of content, implementation - is of primary importance. This question is crucial, for it is unlikely that one curriculum will be superior in all four areas. The comparative importance of the four parts of the model is discussed in chapter ten.

VI. CURRICULAR INTENT

The reader's first reaction must be to ask what is "curricular intent" and how is it related to citizenship education. Curricular intent is easy to define, but its relationship to citizenship eudcation is so complex as to require a full chapter of discussion.

The term _curricular intent_ refers to that which the curriculum writer wants students to know, to feel, to be able to do. Curricular intent, therefore, encompasses such traditional terms as objectives, purposes, aims, goals. A new term was chosen not only because it is comprehensive but also because it is free of the negative connotations that many teachers associate with the older terms. Teachers often feel that thinking about objectives is a fruitless activity and/or an exercise that fascinates supervisors and principals but is not essential to successful teaching. These negative reactions should be blunted by the use of a new term.[1]

Curricular intent (objectives or goals if you prefer those terms) is an appropriate starting point for the decision-making model because intentions play a central role in curriculum development. One element of curriculum development is the selection of content. This content, if it is to lead to the realization of the curriculum's intents, must be selected with these intents in mind. The dependency of content on intents is so obvious that no examples are required to illustrate this connection.

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[1] The terms - _goals_, _aims_, _objectives_, _purposes_ - are used occasionally, in part to break the monotony of using only the term intent but also at times when one of the conventional terms would convey the meaning more clearly than would _intent_.

It is also important that teaching strategies (i.e., techniques used by the teacher to present the content to youngsters) be appropriate to the curricular intent. For example, if the intent is to have students learn the major interpretations of the impact of frontier life on American values, then lecturing or having the students read historians' accounts is probably more effective than some form of discovery learning. Conversely, if the intent is to teach students how to critically analyze an historian's interpretation, then exposition (e.g., lecturing) is not enough. A teacher can use exposition to explain various processes for evaluating an interpretation, but understanding these processes and being able to use them successfully are not necessarily the same. Practice in applying these processes to historical interpretations is a strategy central to the accomplishment of the basic intent: critical analysis. This example concerning the analysis of interpretations and the earlier one involving the mastery of interpretations illustrate that the selection of teaching strategies is dependent on the character of the curricular intent.[2]

It is now appropriate to propose a technique for analyzing curricular intent. Such an analysis may be done in three phases. First, the intent should be clarified so that its meaning is clear to a curriculum consumer. Secondly, the intent needs to be logically analyzed to see if it is consistent both internally and with other curriculum factors such as teaching strategies and teaching materials. And lastly, the intent of a curriculum has to be measured against the intent of a particular teacher and/or school district. The three phases, discussed separately, are related when possible to citizenship education. For each phase, specific questions are suggested to help the curriculum consumer gather relevant data.

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[2] An excellent discussion of the relationship between teaching strategies and objectives is contained in the third chapter of Edwin Fenton's The New Social Studies (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 28-58. See especially Section III of chapter three.

Clarification of Curricular Intent

In a few cases clarification of curricular intent may involve nothing more than examining a carefully written statement of general objectives or course goals. But in many instances these statements contain ambiguous terms, e.g., a student should become an "independent thinker" or a student should become familiar with the "Western Heritage." In other instances the general objectives or goals are not even stated; they must be inferred from the curriculum materials.

In order to make accurate inferences and to add precision to existing explicit statements, the author has found it useful to pose the question: What kind of an individual does a curriculum seek to develop? The following excerpt illustrates the results when this question is addressed to two of the national projects:

> To ask the first question is to ask what a person should be able to know, to feel, or to be able to do after he has finished a curriculum. For example, the Carnegie Institute of Technology Project Social Studies material aims at teaching the student how to use the mode of inquiry of the historian and social scientist. The "mode of inquiry" as used by Fenton and Good apparently means the approach of the historian and scientist as they search for explanations by developing and testing hypotheses. Although the Carnegie curriculum obviously includes substantive or descriptive contents - that is, facts, concepts, and generalizations - to be learned, the various statements of intention which accompany the Carnegie Tech program place more emphasis on the student learning the mode or modes of inquiry. Note that we have been careful to distinguish between the stated intentions and the de facto intentions. These are not necessarily the same.

> While the Carnegie project stresses the mode of inquiry used by social scientists, the Harvard Project Social Studies material has as its primary intent the development of a student who is able to analyze public policy issues. The Harvard material is designed to teach students a process of analyzing public issues and the substantive social science knowledge which will help the student to understand the issues. In the Harvard project the student is expected to become skilled in challenging positions different from his own as well as in examining his own position on policy questions. The Harvard viewpoint is that value differences are central to public policy issues; hence, clarification of ethical issues must be central to the classroom discourse.[3]

Asking what type of individual is to be created clarifies curricular intent by placing the intent in concrete terms, i.e., the "ideal" individual should be able to know or to do a particular thing.

Viewed from another perspective, an answer to the ideal individual question specifies what was referred to earlier as the "ultimate outcome" of a curriculum- This outcome for a social studies curriculum is a definition of the term citizenship.[4] In other words, the ideal individual question makes specific a curriculum's concept of citizenship. One reason that a specific statement of citizenship is valuable is that it establishes a criterion for judging the effectiveness of a curriculum on students.[5]

To this point the focus has been on specifying the meaning of citizenship. Certainly, understanding a curriculum developer's definition of citizenship helps one decide whether to use a curriculum. However, a clear and precise definition of citizenship is only one type of data needed to make an intelligent decision. The reasons for proposing a

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3. Berlak and Tom, "Toward Rational Curriculum Decisions," 23.

4. See Figure III on page 9 of Chapter III.

5. The role of evaluation in the decision-making model is discussed in the next chapter.

particular definition of citizenship also need to be scrutinized. Examining the case for a concept of citizenship helps one evaluate how worthwhile the definition is.

To help clarify the reasoning behind a concept of citizenship education, a second question is required: What is the rationale (reasoned argument) for wanting to develop a particular kind of individual? The term rationale is used because it condenses into one word the phrase "a case for a particular point of view." To ask for a rationale is to ask "why," why does the curriculum writer want to create a specific kind of individual.

Many different types of arguments can be constructed to defend the creation of a particular type of individual. These arguments, however, should share at least one element: a concern for the societal framework of citizenship education. Each person is part of society, and the education seen as desirable for him must take into account the context in which he lives. If this social context is ignored, then the term citizenship no longer has meaning, for the term implies that a relationship exists between an individual and one or more societies.[6]

Some curricula are accompanied by a rationale in which the social framework is a major portion of the justification for the intent; in other cases social context is not part of the rationale. A few hypothetical examples may help illustrate the role of social context in a rationale. Let us assume that a curriculum has the basic intent of providing youngsters with a process for resolving social issues, and the emphasis on process is justified on the grounds that social conditions are changing so rapidly that we need to prepare youngsters to handle problems not foreseen today. In this instance the social context, changing social conditions, is a major justification for the emphasis on process. A second curriculum proposal may focus on meeting the needs of youth and adulthood. These needs are defined in terms of family roles, leisure activities, public responsibilities. All of these categories are to some extent socially defined, but the rationale does not make clear the relationship(s) between the categories and the social framework. A third curriculum is aimed at instilling in students a desire to work for the realization of the American dream for all people. No defense in terms of social context is given for this position.

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[6] A provocative discussion of the interaction among individual ideals, social arrangements necessary to preserve these ideals, and social realities is contained in Charles Beard, "The Problem of Specific Objectives," The Nature of the Social Sciences, especially 178-84.

Judging the adequacy of a rationale is facilitated if the social context is explicit: in the first example it is explicit, in the second less so, and in the third the social framework is implicit, i.e., unstated. However, even when the social framework is unstated, certain assumptions about social context are implicit in a rationale. To make such assumptions explicit the following question can be asked: What assumptions concerning society are behind the conception of the ideal individual?

This question, if it is to be really useful, should help make explicit the social framework in the third hypothetical example. In that example the ideal individual is the one who would work to realize the American dream for all people. What assumptions concerning society are behind this position? One assumption is that society at the present time does not provide every person with an opportunity to realize the American dream. This assumption is empirical because it concerns what American society is like. A second assumption is that equality of opportunity is a worthwhile goal; this assumption is normative, for it refers to a state of affairs that the curriculum developer feels should be.

If one must infer the social context, then the rationale cannot contain a defense of that framework. However, in the few cases when the social framework is explicit,[7] two other clarification questions can be asked regarding the empirical and normative statements contained in the framework. First, what evidence is cited to support the empirical statement in the framework? Secondly, in what ways are the normative statements in the framework defended?

If the social framework had been explicit in the "American dream" example, then we could expect evidence to support the empirical assumption that equal opportunity does not exist. This assumption, perhaps better called a statement since it is explicit, is a factual claim. Only if evidence is present can the curriculum consumer decide whether the claim is supported adequately to be accepted. Similarly, the worth of equality of opportunity needs to be defended. That is, what arguments does the curriculum developer introduce to illustrate that equal opportunity is a desirable goal? A normative statement cannot be "proven" in the same sense as can an empirical statement, but reasons for proposing a normative statement can be introduced.

As noted earlier, most curricula have implicit social frameworks. In such cases the questions concerning empirical and normative statements are not applicable. All that can be done is to bring to light the

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7. The only national project that has a detailed, explicit social framework in its rationale is the Harvard Social Studies Project. A carefully argued article that focuses on social framework is Donald W. Oliver, "The Selection of Content in the Social Studies," Harvard Educational Review, 27 (Fall, 1957), 271-300; see especially pages 283-92. The article is a model of how social framework, containing both empirical and normative statements, can lead to the formulation of a particular intent.

assumptions concerning society that are behind the concept of citizenship. If the curriculum consumer must depend upon assumptions rather than statements, several problems are created for him.

One problem is that a curriculum developer who has not made clear the social context for his curriculum may not have thought about how the curriculum relates to contemporary American society. Moreover, a careful review of the social framework underlying a concept of citizenship may lead a curriculum developer to alter his conception. An example may help illustrate this relationship between careful consideration of the social context and citizenship education. Assume that a curriculum is aimed at facilitating the solution of social issues by training individuals to develop rational positions on these issues. A cursory examination of American society indicates that few of the political processes are "rational"; political decisions are often the result of historical accidents, bribery,the application of pressure by powerful groups, rather than the product of thorough discussion of the merits of an issue. At best rational discussion may be seen as a way of mitigating the impact of non-rational (or irrational) political processes. Rather than teaching procedures for rational discussion as a means of "solving" social issues perhaps schools should offer instruction in techniques for forming interest groups or even in guerrilla tactics. In this example careful consideration of the social context (the processes by which decisions are made) may lead to reformulating the original concept of citizenship (developing individuals who can rationally discuss issues).[8]

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[8] In this example an empirical condition (the rationality of political decisions) is examined; to do a thorough job of this investigation would require a more intensive study of relevant evidence. Such a study is called for by the question mentioned earlier: What evidence is cited to support empirical statements?

Another important reason for having explicit social frameworks is that their presence challenges the curriculum consumer to carefully consider curricular positions at variance with his own position. Certainly, a consumer is predisposed to favor conceptions of citizenship similar to his own, but many will respond to a well-reasoned case explaining the social context behind a different conception. The surest way to make curricular selection nothing more than the matching of the developers' and consumers' preferences is to have no defenses of the various conceptions of citizenship education.

Although other arguments could be developed for making social frameworks explicit, these two are probably sufficient to illustrate that explicitness is desirable. An explicit social context should encourage a curriculum comsumer to consider citizenship positions different from his own. Making the framework explicit may also force the curriculum developer to reconsider his concept of citizenship education.

To summarize, if social framework is explicit, then the following questions can be asked: (1) What evidence is cited to support the empirical statements in the framework? and (2) In what ways are the normative statements in the framework defended? Of course, if the social framework is implicit, then this question is appropriate: What assumptions concerning society are behind the conception of the ideal individual? All three of these questions can be subsumed under the general question: What is the rationale (reasoned argument) for wanting to develop a particular kind of individual?

The other analytical question dealt with in this chapter is: What kind of an individual does a curriculum seek to develop?[9] Both this question concerning the ideal individual and the other analytical questions involving social context are designed to clarify the intent of a curriculum and the justification for that intent. Of course, in many cases one will discover that the intent is vague and/or not justified in terms of a social framework.

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[9] See the appendix for a complete listing of the questions contained in the decision-making model.

Logical Analysis of Curricular Intents, Teaching Strategies, and Materials

But let us assume that, at the very least, the clarification questions yield a concept of citizenship education that is reasonably clear. Obviously, clarification is only the first step in analysis of intent. It is also useful to do several types of analysis that are logical in nature. Logical analysis involves judging the internal consistency of the intent, evaluating the consistency of the teaching strategies and the student materials with the intent, and estimating whether the intent of the course can be realized in the available time.

The last consideration is the old problem of whether a course (or a unit or a lesson) is trying to achieve too much too fast. Stated in more positive terms, the question becomes: To what extent can the intents of a course be accomplished in the available time? Usually teachers can accurately make this type of judgment for lessons or for units, but they often have too many intents for a course. For example, it is not uncommon for a World history course of study to assert that at the end of one year a student will: be familiar with the evolution of a variety of civilizations, be committed to the values that constitute the Western heritage, develop a sense of historical perspective, and be proficient in three or four skills involving the evaluation of data.

One cannot help but suspect that there are too many intents: the course of study lacks focus. What is likely is that each of these intents would be realized in part, but none of them to the point of mastery.

This partial attainment of a variety of intents may be seen as desirable, if one is concerned about breadth of coverage. However, a diffuse purpose raises another issue in addition to that of focus. "The trouble with many of our eclectics," writes Lawrence Metcalf, "is that they have not included consistency as one of their philosophical criteria. A careful reading of their stated purposes leaves one with the feeling that they are not really for anything at all, since their lists of impeccable purposes are shot through with contradictory and incompatible destinations."[10]

To illustrate contradictory objectives, three basic objectives from a "communism" course are quoted below:

> To build an academically sound understanding of communism -- its history, its ideology, its methods, and its goals. Building a clear understanding of the true facts about communism, against a similarly lucid and true background in the democratic system and tradition, should prove to be the best approach for the preservation of our way of life. Such an approach will dramatically, yet soundly, make evident the incomparable superiority of the Western democratic tradition....
>
> To teach the student to draw his own conclusions after carefully studying and evaluating the differences existing between communist and democratic systems. To think critically and to be proficient in the art of problem-solving are indispensable objectives of the social studies. The validity and necessity of such objectives should be held foremost in mind as requirements in learning about communism....
>
> To prepare the student to read, think, listen, and speak with calm but accurate discrimination in order that he may not fall prey to insidious propaganda. A thorough, yet critical, understanding of communism should enable youth to avoid the pitfalls of this strong and subtle communist technique.[11]

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[10] Lawrence Metcalf, "Some Guidelines for Changing Social Studies Education," Social Education, XXVII (April, 1963), 198.

[11] From "Objectives of the Program," Suggestions for Teaching About Communism in the Public High Schools (Raleigh: State Department of Public Instruction).

The first objective stresses that a student should arrive at a particular conclusion (the superiority of the Western democratic tradition) while the second suggests that a student should be free to draw his own conclusions. It is not uncommon for one course objective to emphasize free thinking and another to specify one of the outcomes of "free" thought. The inconsistency between the second and the third objectives is more unusual. In this case, contradictory ways of thinking are proposed. The second objective, as noted earlier, states that a student should be encouraged to draw his own conclusions; however, objective three notes that the student must be guided so that he does not "fall prey to insidious propaganda." The third objective concludes with the idea that the "pitfalls" of propaganda can be avoided if the course emphasizes "a thorough, yet critical (emphasis added), understanding of communism." In other words, if we emphasize the bad points about communism (our propaganda?), we can neutralize their propaganda. Clearly these circumstances do not permit a student "to draw his own conclusions after carefully studying and evaluating the differences."

Other inconsistences of intent can exist besides contradictions at the most general level of intent, i.e., course intents. Inconsistency may, and often does, exist between course intents and intents established for day-by-day instruction. This type of inconsistency may either involve conflicting intents, as in the communism course, or general intents that are not implemented through daily instruction. Since an example of intents in conflict has already been given, the present discussion will concentrate on inconsistency related to omission.

Frequently the glowing promises made in the course intents are forgotten at the level of daily intentions. A general intent, for example, might be that a course is to encourage each student to develop his own set of values. Yet the daily intentions focus largely, or perhaps entirely, on knowledge rather than on normative concerns. That is, the student has little opportunity to study or discuss topics involving values. Or a course intent may be that a student is to learn sociological concepts and generalizations; however, daily instruction emphasizes the learning of great quantities of very specific data, i.e., facts. Mastering concepts and generalizations is a course intent that is not implemented through the daily intents.

So far we have referred to two types of inconsistency: internal inconsistency at the level of general intent and inconsistency between general intent and specific intent. Both types of incompatibility can be exposed by a simple question: Are the intents of a course both internally consistent and implemented through the daily intentions? Yet inconsistency can still be present even if the answer to both parts of this question is yes.

A third type of potential inconsistency involves the relationship between teaching materials (films, records, reading workbooks, etc.) and curricular intent. The question is: Are the teaching materials appropriate for achieving the daily and course intentions? Examples of lack of harmony are common. An inquiry oriented course may be based on a textbook which stresses answers rather than questions. A course, purported to be integrated social science, may have separate units on each of the social science disciplines. Or the audio-visual component of a course may be tangential, perhaps irrelevant, to the intents of the course. In each of these examples the teaching materials either do not help realize the curricular intents or foster intents other than the stated ones.

Not only the materials but also the way the materials are used (i.e., teaching strategies) affect the extent to which a proposed intent is achieved. While teaching materials need to be consistent with an intent; teaching strategies must be appropriate both to the intent and to the materials. Earlier, examples were given to illustrate the need for consistency between teaching strategies and intent.[12] At this point it might be useful to provide several examples involving teaching strategies and materials. Teachers frequently talk of adapting the teaching techniques of the "new social studies" to materials already in use. The result may be an attempt to use discovery learning with texts that give all of the answers. Conversely, some of the new curricula that are designed for discovery learning are mistaught by teachers who prevent their students from doing open-ended inquiry.

To expose inconsistency between teaching strategies and teaching materials a fourth logical analysis question is required: Are the proposed teaching strategies appropriate both to the daily intents and to the teaching materials? One problem in answering this question is that few of the new curricula give specific directions for using their materials. In cases where teaching strategies are not specified, the curriculum consumer must place more emphasis on analyzing the consistency between teaching materials and intent.

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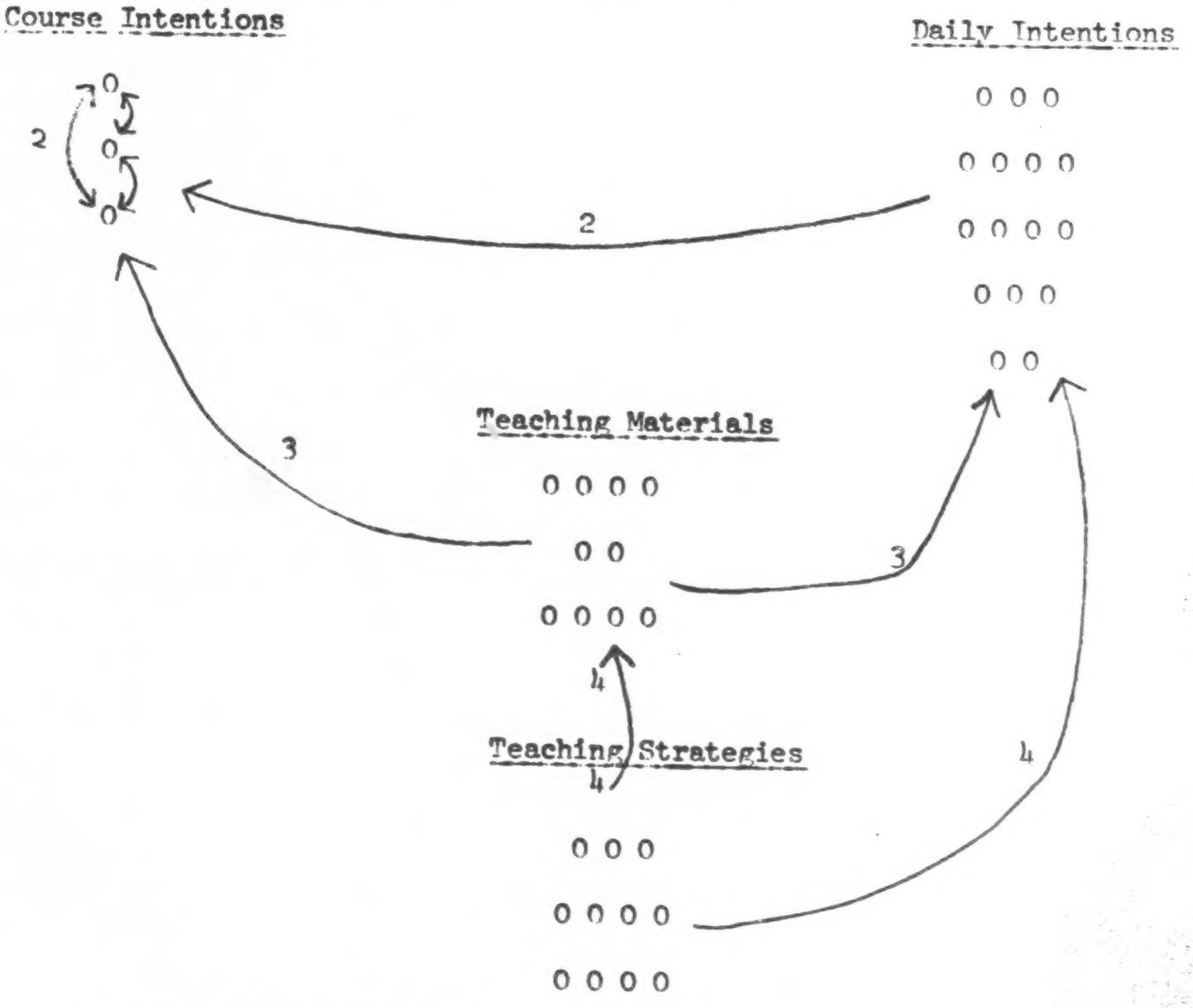
[12] See page 37 of this chapter.

Figure VI is designed to summarize the relationships represented by the logical analysis questions. The numbers in the figure refer to the questions listed at the bottom of figure VI.

Figure VI

Intentions, Materials, and Strategies


Course Intentions
Daily Intentions
Teaching Materials
Teaching Strategies
2
2
3
3
4
4
4

2. Are the intents of a course both internally consistent and implemented through the daily intentions?

3. Are the teaching materials appropriate for achieving the daily and course intentions?

4. Are the proposed teaching strategies appropriate both to the daily intents and to the teaching materials?

The first question, not listed above, is: To what extent can the intents of a course be accomplished in the available time?

As one analyzes a curriculum in terms of the four questions, he inevitably makes predictions about the effectiveness of the curriculum. For example, a course that has teaching strategies consistent with its teaching materials is assumed to be more likely to accomplish its intents than a curriculum lacking such consistency. Similarly, a curriculum with internally consistent course intents is assumed to be more effective than one with inconsistent course intents. The general assumption being made is that consistency is more likely to lead to realization of intents than is inconsistency.

Another, perhaps a more reliable, way to discover the effectiveness of a curriculum with students is to examine the evaluation studies conducted by the curriculum developers. Evidence of student learning from such studies measures effectiveness more directly than does consistency analysis because the latter entails the assumption that consistency leads to the realization of intents, i.e., to student learning. Yet analyzing intentions, strategies, and materials is still an important element of the decision-making model. Often curriculum evaluation is either not done, or it is done in a haphazard way. Moreover, even if the evaluation study is carefully designed and carried out, it is hard to interpret the significance of the findings for educational policy-making. The difficulty of interpreting the meaning of evaluation findings is discussed in the chapter on evaluation; other problems related to evaluation are also handled in that chapter.

Curricular Intent: Making Value Judgments

The first two sections of this chapter contain suggestions for analyzing the clarity of curricular intent and its logical relationship to teaching materials and strategies. Both types of analysis are extremely important because they help differentiate precisely defined and carefully developed curricula from curricula which are vague and inconsistent. Yet focusing only on clarity and logic probably will not enable a curriculum consumer to make a final selection among the available curricula. In the end, one must also make a basic value judgment concerning the purpose(s) of social studies education (the definition of citizenship education).

The role of value judgments in selecting a curriculum can be clarified through an analogy. A problem commonly faced by a voter is what to do when the candidate from his party is not as "well qualified" as is the candidate from the other party. The other party's candidate may be more knowledgeable, have a more penetrating grasp of societal issues, or have a more appropriate background for the contested office. Yet the candidate from his party has positions on the fundamental issues that are similar to the orientation of the voter. The voter's dilemma is whether he should: 1) support the candidate who shares his value commitments but who, for one reason or another, appears to be less qualified for the office or 2) support the candidate who has a differing orientation but who is seen by the voter as being better qualified for the office.

Just as candidates can have varying value orientations so may curricula. In the case of curricula, the differences are expressed through varying concepts of citizenship education. That curricula do have contrasting concepts of citizenship education was noted earlier, but the differences were not specified, although they are implied by Figure III (alternative social studies positions). Now is an appropriate time to examine these differences and to discuss their impact on the decision-making process.

At least three distinct conceptions of citizenship education are held by teachers, administrators, and curriculum developers. These conceptions can be summarized by the phrases: personal man, public man, and scholarly man. Each type of man is defined by his particular set of concerns. Personal man is a wise consumer of the products of our economy, is satisfied with the vocation he has selected, has a rewarding home life, and has meaningful relationships with other people. On the other hand public man is characterized by such activities as regular voting, volunteer work in social service agencies, participation in groups (i.e., political parties, interest groups) concerned with social issues, gathering information about public affairs by reading newspapers and periodicals. The major difference between private and public man is that the former is concerned with familial and vocational affairs while the latter feels a strong need to participate in and improve his society.

Scholarly man attempts among other things to examine a human problem or situation objectively, i.e., without letting his own commitments "color" the analysis; tries to develop an increasingly accurate understanding of his own behavior; is familiar with social science concepts, i.e., role, deflation, culture, historical law; strives to keep informed of the research findings in at least one discipline. Scholarly man, therefore, is different from both private and public man, for the latter groups are primarily concerned with participation while the former is concerned basically with analysis and interpretation.[13]

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[13] It is important to note the qualifications in this statement. No doubt analysis and interpretation are part of personal and public man just as scholarly man is not entirely removed from participation. But the dominant concern of personal and public man is participation while scholarly man is largely interested in interpretation.

The categories of public man and scholarly man can be related to an earlier scheme, Figure III, which summarized the relationships between type of social studies content, instrumental outcome, and ultimate outcome. The final outcome in that scheme is the phrase *responsible citizenship* which can now be replaced by the terms *public man* and *scholarly man*:

Figure VII

Categories of Citizenship

Type of social studies content	→	Instrumental Outcome	→	Ultimate Outcome
Social science knowledge (facts and generalizations)	→	Students' understanding of human behavior and institutions	→	Scholarly man (authority on the social sciences)
Ways of social science thinking (modes of inquiry)	→	Students' ability to think like a social scientist	→	Scholarly man (investigator)
Procedures for making rational value judgments	→	Students' ability to make rational value judgments	→	Public man (decision maker)
Value judgments of a reference group	→	Students' commitment to particular value judgments	→	Public man (possessor of moral truth)

For either scholarly or public man, the two relevant types of content are not necessarily stressed equally. The type of content to be emphasized, as well as the instrumental outcome to be attained, depends on what aspects of the ultimate outcome are seen as most important.

The schema in Figure VII does not include the third category: personal man. Yet personal man is represented in many social studies departments by such courses as: consumer economics, psychology with an emphasis on personal adjustment, family living, driver education.[14]

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[14] Often these courses are in other departments, e.g., home economics, or attached to no department, e.g., driver education. In such cases the school is taking the position that some area other than social studies has the responsibility for developing personal man.

At the same time, however, many educators are critical of courses designed to develop the personal man. The scholars who contributed to Berelson's volume distinguished between courses oriented toward personal man and social science courses: to them social science courses with a scholarly emphasis are more important.[15] Many schools do in fact relegate personal man courses to insignificant positions in their programs of study. Often such courses are reserved for those "slow" students who cannot, it is felt, profit from regular social studies courses. Other students get in these courses oriented toward the personal man because they fail first semester mathematics or foreign language. Personal man courses tend in practice to be the dumping ground for students who fail in other curriculum areas or who are not deemed bright enough to take a regular social studies course.[16]

One way to focus the attention of the curriculum consumer on the value judgment involved in defining citizenship is to pose the question: Is the ideal individual proposed by a curriculum closer to scholarly man or to public man? Applying this question to a number of curricula yields a cluster of public man curricula and another of scholarly man curricula. Within each cluster, curricula may have intents of varying clarity and logical coherence. The existence of this disparity makes it possible to rank curricula on a continuum ranging from low clarity and logical coherence to high clarity and logical coherence. Figure VIII

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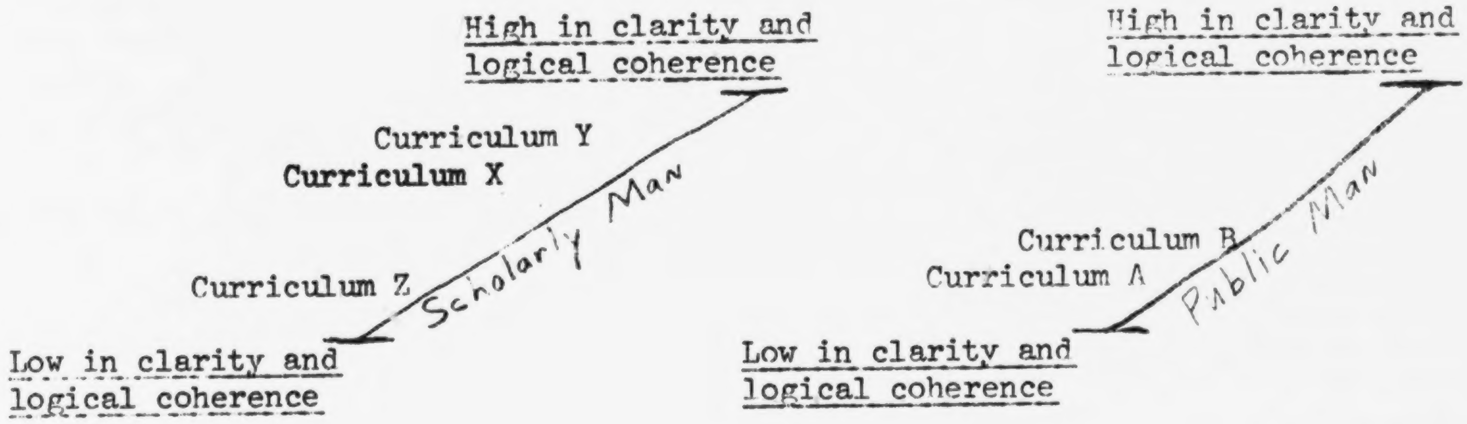
15. Berelson, "Introduction," The Social Studies and the Social Sciences, 7.

16. Possible exception to this generalization is driver training which is usually taken by most secondary school students. However, this course is not usually associated with social studies departments. The category of personal man is not included in this paper, although the reader, if he chooses, can easily make personal man part of the decision-making model.

illustrates a hypothetical ordering of curricula, with one continuum for public man curricula and another for scholarly man curricula.

Figure VIII


High in clarity and logical coherence
Curriculum Y
Curriculum X
Scholarly Man
Curriculum Z
Low in clarity and logical coherence
High in clarity and logical coherence
Public Man
Curriculum B
Curriculum A
Low in clarity and logical coherence

In Figure VIII curricula Z, A, and B each rank low in terms of the clarity of intent and the logical coherence of intent, teaching strategies, and teaching materials; curricula X and Y rank high on the same criteria.

If the consumer and/or his district place a premium on the development of scholarly man, then they would probably choose Curriculum X or Curriculum Y. However, if they value the development of public man, then they are in a dilemma similar to that noted earlier in the voter example. Should preference be given to either curriculum A or B, each of which lacks coherence and clarity but has a citizenship orientation similar to their aim? Or should they select Curriculum X or Y, each of which is "better qualified" in that both are carefully defined and developed but differ from the consumers'orientation? This dilemma is the focus of the second analytical question in this section of the chapter: Which factor is given preference when one must choose between: an intent, unclear and inconsistent, but compatible with his own and a clear and coherent intent representing an orientation differing from his own?

Although there is no easy answer to this dilemma, acknowledging its existence does illustrate why another commonly-asked question is often a false issue. The question is: Is one curriculum more effective than another? To compare the effectiveness of curricula, or of any products, requires that they have a common purpose. Consequently, one cannot compare the effectiveness of a public man curriculum with a curriculum that has a different concept of citizenship. Occasionally curricula that do not have a common purpose are measured by a single standard. For example, a public man curriculum may be compared to a textbook in terms of subject matter mastery. Such a comparison certainly can be made, but the real question for a public man curriculum is how well it fulfills its own basic intents, not how well it reaches the intentions central to another approach.

In the end one must choose between public man and scholarly man curricula. This choice is complicated if curricula representing the preferred orientation are less clear and logically consistent than curricula from the other orientation.

The author would like to provide further guidance to the teacher(s) who must select one concept of citizenship over another. But he has not been able to work out a systematic approach that goes beyond the questions relating to clarification of intent and logical analysis of intents, strategies, and materials. All that can be done at this point is to suggest several problems a teacher may face in selecting a citizenship concept.

One obvious problem is that the teacher may have preferences different from the official policy of his department, his school building, or his school district. In some cases there is no statement of philosophy for a department or a district; in other instances the philosophy, if present, may be a collection of generalities whose implications are not clear. But the teacher usually must use materials that are adopted by his department or district, possibly from a list of texts approved by a state board of education. Since any set of materials has an implicit philosophy, not being able to choose one's materials results in philosophy being set at the department, school district, or state level.

From an individual teacher's point of view, therefore, the entire process described in this paper may appear to be unrealistic. If individual teachers do not have the freedom to choose materials, then curriculum analysis, if it is to lead to action, must be done by those members of the faculty and administration who are responsible for selecting materials. To ask a teacher who is not responsible for textbook selection to analyze curricula is to require him to engage in an academic exercise.

Having several teachers and/or administrators engage in curriculum analysis also has its dangers. A group of educators tends to have difficulty in reaching agreement on a definition of citizenship. Usually the outcomes of such deliberations is a compromise which either combines most aspects of the scholarly and public man approaches or contains unintelligible generalities. Such results do not provide a concrete basis for choosing among alternative curricula. Curriculum analysis that results in compromise is perhaps worse than no curriculum analysis at all.

The difficulty that teachers can have in reaching agreement on a concept of citizenship is a serious practical problem. Another practical problem with curriculum analysis is the lack of clearly written articles on the strengths and weaknesses of the approaches labeled public man and scholarly man. The remainder of this chapter discusses several books and articles that the author has found useful in thinking about these two approaches.

Those who emphasize the scholarly man have in recent years emphasized the concept of structure of the disciplines. The classic statement of the structuralist approach is The Process of Education by Jerome Bruner. Bruner writes in a style that is easy to read, though at times the meaning of his position is not clear because he fails to give enough examples to illustrate his general statements. A more precise, though difficult to read, statement of the structure of the disciplines approach is that of Joseph J. Schwab.[17] Schwab distinguishes between substantive structure - the network of principles, generalizations, and concepts central to each discipline - and syntactical structures - the methodological processes used to create the substantive structures.

James P. Shaver and Donald W. Oliver have written a critique of the structure of the disciplines approach to curriculum development.[18] Another article by Fred M. Newmann makes many of the same points as do Shaver and Oliver.[19] Both of these articles are brief and well argued.

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[17] Joseph J. Schwab, "Structure of the Disciplines: Meanings and Significances," The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum, eds. G. W. Ford and Lawrence Pugno (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), 6-30.

[18] "The Structure of the Social Sciences and Citizenship Education," Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, Volume 42, Part II, 311-18, This article, as well as the one by Joseph Schwab, is reproduced in a book of readings by James P. Shaver and Harold Berlak: Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company), Part IV. Much of the introduction to Part IV is an attempt to clarify issues related to the structure of the disciplines approach.

[19] Newmann, "The Analysis of Public Controversy," The School Review, 410-34. The structuralist approach is evaluated in the first part of the article.

Although the public man orientation has been dominant for a number of years, until recently most of the articles or books defending this concept have contained platitudes rather than carefully developed positions. A notable exception to this generalization is the work of Lawrence E. Metcalf. In addition to a number of thoughtful articles, Metcalf, along with Maurice Hunt, has developed a carefully reasoned concept of public man.[20] More recently, Donald Oliver, James Shaver, and Fred Newmann have written a number of articles and books that espouse the study of public issues.[21] The public issues approach developed by these men has been critically analyzed by Mark. M. Krug.[22]

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[20] Teaching High School Social Studies, (New York, 1955).

[21] Donald W. Oliver and James Shaver, Teaching Public Issues in the High School (Boston, 1966). Fred M. Newmann, "The Analysis of Public Controversy," The School Review, 410-34. Fred M. Newmann and Donald W. Oliver, "Education and Community," Harvard Educational Review, 37 (Winter, 1967), 61-106. The last article proposes a radical reformulation in our conception of the nature of education: "Imagine a hypothetical community in which learning is pursued in three quite different contexts: the 'school' context, the 'laboratory-studio-work' context, and the 'community seminar' context....The contexts...are intended to convey the major point that education consists of three important facets: systematic instruction, action, and reflection." (95-97).

[22] Mark M. Krug, "The Jurisprudential Approach: Theory and Practice," Social Education, XXXII (December, 1968), 789-93, 797.

VII. CURRICULUM EVALUATION

Chapter VI outlines an approach for judging how worthwhile curricular intentions are. Worthwhileness, as it is used in that chapter, involves such factors as the ideal individual proposed by a curriculum, the rationale for this ideal individual, the logical consistency of curricular elements, the intent-time relationship, and the educational commitments of a teacher and/or school district. Choosing an educational program, however, is not merely a question of judging the worthiness of intents. At some point an additional issue must be raised: Does the curriculum achieve its intents? That is, do the youngsters who study a curriculum become the kind of individual that the curriculum seeks to develop?

The distinction between judging the worthiness of intents and examining the accomplishment of intents is an important one. A simple analogy should help clarify the difference between the two processes. Suppose we want to decide whether to use a particular insecticide. One question we would ask is whether the insecticide does what it is supposed to do, i.e., destroy insects. Yet the question of whether we should use the insecticide is a broader problem. The latter question raises such issues as: special equipment needed to spread the insecticide, the effect of the insecticide on wildlife, the cost of using the insecticide, and the effect, if any, on human beings. These issues, two of which are largely ethical considerations, are similar to the issues we face when analyzing curricula. In both cases, we must decide whether our course of action is worthwhile.

Examining the worthiness of curricular intents is referred to in this paper as curriculum analysis. The term curriculum evaluation is used when the purpose is to discover whether a curriculum achieves what it purports to achieve. Both processes are part of the decision-making model. The distinction between these two processes is one that has been recognized by several writers. Michael Scriven, for example, has argued that "if the goals aren't worth achieving then it is uninteresting how well they are achieved... Thus evaluation proper must include, as an equal partner with the measuring of performance against goals, procedures for the evaluation of the goals."[1]

Yet many are unwilling to grant "evaluation of the goals" (curriculum analysis) equal status to "measuring of performance" (curriculum evaluation). The former is often seen to rest on value judgments not open to rational examination, while the latter is viewed as being a precise procedure with clear implications for decision making. The author believes that the approach outlined in this paper for analyzing curricular intents does introduce certain elements of rationality into curriculum analysis. At the same time the author contends that curriculum evaluation does not necessarily provide information that is both reliable and vital to the decision-making process.

Evaluating the reliability of information gained from an evaluation study is difficult for a curriculum consumer. He is not likely to be familiar with either the intricacies of experimental design or the appropriateness in particular situations of certain statistical techniques.

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1. Michael Scriven, "The Methodology of Evaluation," Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation, AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation, Monograph 1 (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), 52. In the same volume, Robert Stake defines evaluation in a way that distinguishes between accomplishment of intent and worthiness of intent: "For a complete evaluation, two main kinds of data are collected: (1) objective descriptions of goals, environments, personnel, methods and content, and outcomes; and (2) personal judgments as to the quality and appropriateness of those goals, environments, etc." Robert Stake, "Toward a Technology for the Evaluation of Educational Programs," Perspectives, 5.

Yet without knowledge of design and statistics the consumer cannot decide whether the information from a study is reliable. The problem faced by the curriculum consumer is analogous to the one that confronts the person who leaves his radio at a repair shop. The repairman examines the radio and says that it needs a new tube and several parts whose names are nothing more than words to the consumer. One must trust the technical competence and honesty of the repairman. Yet he may be incompetent or dishonest, just as a curriculum evaluator may be incompetent or dishonest.

The second general problem involves the difficulty in applying the findings of evaluation studies to the decision-making process, i.e., to selecting a curriculum. The next few pages consider specific problems related to evaluation methodology and to the interpretation of evaluation findings.

Interpreting the results of evaluation studies appears to be simple. A common way of comparing the effects of two curricula is to use a statistical test on mean of each group's score to check whether the differences are "statistically significant" or "not significant." The significance is expressed in terms of a probability, usually one per cent or five per cent. Let us assume that a group of students studying Curriculum X (experimental curriculum) performs significantly better at the five per cent level of confidence than does the group studying Curriculum Y (present curriculum). In simple language, what does this statement mean? It means that in terms of one comparison test, Curriculum X is superior to Curriculum Y, but there is a five per cent chance that this conclusion is untrue, i.e., that curriculum X is not better than Curriculum Y.

The fact that the experimental curriculum is probably (ninty-five per cent chance) superior to the present curriculum is important, but the decision whether to adopt the experimental curriculum depends in great part on how much better it is than the present curriculum. If the new curriculum is expensive and requires extensive in-service education, then one is unlikely to adopt it unless it is a major improvement over present practice. The problem is that statistical significance is a measure of certainty, not of magnitude; statistical significance indicates how sure we can be that a difference exists between the effects of the two curricula, not how large the difference is. To make matters worse, with a large sample quite small differences will produce significant results.[2]

In summary, results that are statistically significant are not necessarily educationally significant, i.e., in terms of the curriculum selection process. Before adopting a new curriculum, one wants to be assured not only that differences in effects do exist but that these differences are large. Indeed if statistics are needed to verify the existence of differences between curricula, then these differences may well be so small as to be an unimportant consideration in the decision-making model. The curriculum consumer, therefore, needs to ask the following question: Is there evidence concerning the magnitude of an experimental curriculum's effects in relation to the effects of other curricula?

No doubt the curriculum consumer will usually find the differences in effects to be small. A common problem, therefore, is how to interpret the meaning of small differences. One possibility is that the test used to assess the differences is not precise enough to pick up the subtle differences produced by the curricula. For example, the commonly-used

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2. William L. Hays, Statistics for Psychologists (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 326.

critical thinking tests may have questions that are too general to measure the thinking skills taught in many of the social studies inquiry curricula. No doubt critical thinking tests are often inadequate to the task; many of them are based on a concept of critical thinking that does not take into account the ways that inquiry in the social sciences differs from inquiry in other domains.[3]

However, even if refined tests are used on students studying experimental curricula, it is still likely that test findings will reveal small differences. This result may occur because curriculum materials are ineffective, but it may also occur because materials are only one factor that affect student learning. Other factors are teacher presentation, classroom time allocation, peer group attitudes toward intellectual achievement, student grouping procedures. Producing large effects, therefore, generally requires a multiple-push approach. However, even the multiple-push approach does not assure large steps forward. "We are," Michael Scriven notes, "perhaps too used to the discovery of miracle drugs or technological breakthroughs in the aerospace field to recognize the atypicality of such (apparently) 'instant progress'.... What one may reasonably expect as the reward for work is not great leaps and bounds, but slow and steady improvement."[4]

One is still left with the task of determining the meaning of modest differences in effects among two or more curricula. Unfortunately, the findings may be reported in the form of a single score for each curriculum rather than as scores on several sub-tests (one sub-test for each major objective). To combine many types of post-course performance into one score is a mistake, since failure to realize one objective may be masked by success in one or more other areas. In other words, using sub-tests for separate outcomes yields more information than having a total test score.[5]

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[3] An interesting critique of the commonly accepted conception of critical thinking is: Harold Berlak, "The Teaching of Thinking," The School Review, 73 (Spring, 1965), 1-13.

[4] Scriven, "The Methodology of Evaluation," Perspectives, 66-67.

To help interpret the meaning of small differences in the effects of several curricula one can ask the question: If the differences in effects are small, can this outcome be attributed to inadequate test questions, single-push approach, single score test? If not, the small differences may mean the obvious: no educationally significant difference exists among the curricula being compared.

Up to this point whe have dealt with two general issues related to curriculum evaluation. The importance of selecting suitable experimental design and using appropriate statistical techniques was noted.[6] More attention was given to a second issue: judging the implications of evaluation findings for the decision-making process. Statistical significance is not necessarily synonymous with educational significance, and an important interpretive issue is judging the meaning of small differences in effects. A third issue, one that is discussed in the remaining pages of this chapter, is the applicability of test results from an experimental setting to classrooms across the nation.

Even if an appropriate design is used to discover the effects of new materials and these effects have clear-cut implications for decision making, one still needs to know whether it is safe to generalize the findings from the pilot classrooms to ordinary classrooms throughout the country. A serious deficiency of some evaluation studies has been the failure to sample adequately from the teacher population. Not only students but also teachers need to be typical of the total population of teachers. If experimental teachers are not representative, then the results can be generalized only to teachers sharing characteristics with the experimental teachers.[7]

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[5] Lee J. Cronbach, "Evaluation for Course Improvement," New Curricula, ed. Robert W. Heath (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 235-36; Stake, "Toward a Technology," Perspectives, 6.

[6] In an article, "Hard-nosed Research and the Evaluation of Curricula," to be published in the near future, A. Guy Larkins and James P. Shaver argue that "rigid adherence to either the spirit or letter of traditional experimental design can lead to inadequate curricular evaluation." Larkins and Shaver examine the shortcomings of traditional experimental design and suggest alternative procedures for conducting curriculum evaluation.

If, for example, the teachers in the pilot study have received special training in teaching a set of new materials, then the findings of the study would not hold true for teachers not receiving similar special training. Often special training is so informal that it may not appear to be training at all. The pilot school may have a tradition of testing innovative materials so that teachers and students participating in experimental projects are accorded a special status. Or the school may provide special assistance for pilot teachers - secretarial help, released time, office space - that teachers in other schools do not receive. Any or all of these factors may create a special situation in a pilot school that is not present in other schools.

Whether the results of a pilot study can be generalized to other situations is the focus of the third analytical question in this chapter: Are appropriate sampling techniques for students, teachers, and schools--used so that the evaluation findings can be generalized to classrooms across the country? If appropriate sampling techniques are not used, then a school district might have to consider doing its own study. However, it is

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7. Scriven, "The Methodology of Evaluation," Perspectives, 77.

so difficult to set up a good experimental design that the school may not feel it has the technical competence to conduct its own study.

In the end, we may despair that evaluation studies cannot help us select among curricula. It is difficult for practitioners to judge the adequacy of experimental design. Even if appropriate experimental design is used, the differences in effects may be so small that the implications for decision-making are not clear. Lastly, the sampling procedures may make it difficult to generalize the findings of a pilot study to most school situations.

An added problem must be mentioned. Few of the national curriculum projects have conducted systematic evaluation studies. In some cases published materials were not even field tested! The paucity of evaluation is apparently the result of the developers being people of action. In many cases careful evaluation would have delayed by several years the introduction of materials. Yet the lack of evaluation evidence certainly complicates the decision-making process. If evaluation evidence is not available and the local district is unable to conduct a study, then the curriculum consumer will have to rely upon other elements of the decision-making model.

VIII. VALIDITY OF CONTENT

Let us assume that a curriculum has a clear intent and is internally consistent; moreover, evaluation data on its effectiveness are favorable. Can any other question be asked? Yes, for the mere fact that an intent is clear, that the intent is internally consistent and consistent with other elements of the curriculum, that the intent is in part realized, does not assure that the content of the curriculum is valid.

Content may be invalid in at least two ways. It may project an inaccurate picture of social reality (the way our political, social, and economic systems operate). Or in the case of curricula that emphasize the structure of the disciplines, the content may misrepresent the essence of a discipline. Since neither of these potential inaccuracies is easy to discover, several common examples of each type of difficulty are examined. In addition, strategies for identifying inaccuracies are suggested.

Images of Social Reality

One of the most common misrepresentations of social reality is false factual statements. A historical figure may be credited with an accomplishment for which he was not responsible, or a particular Supreme Court decision may be inaccurately summarized. Most, if not all, curricula contain factual errors, yet it is hard to believe that an event incorrectly dated or a mislabeled process leads to serious distortion of a student's image of social reality. This relatively minor impact of false factual statements occurs because factual statements tend to deal with narrow segments of social reality.

But the curriculum content may contain inaccuracies of a more general nature. An economics course, for example, may be based on the free market model. This model postulates that prices and the allocation of resources are determined by the interaction of numerous consumers and producers. No doubt, the concept of free market is useful in helping one understand certain aspects of our economy, but the free market model is an incomplete representation of such major industries as public utilities, steel, and automobiles. Concepts such as administered prices, oligopoly, monopoly, and government regulation are essential to interpreting the economic forces involved in these industries. In an era of economic concentration other concepts in addition to free market may be of questionable value. Our economy, for example, is perhaps characterized less by scarcity than by abundance.[1] An important question to ask, therefore, is: Do the social science concepts and/or generalizations in a curriculum represent social reality accurately?

Concepts and generalizations need to keep pace with the rapid social and political changes occurring in American society. In turn, teachers, especially social studies teachers, need to be aware of these changes and the concepts useful in interpreting them. This awareness is necessary not only to facilitate judging the validity of curriculum content but also to prevent teachers in day-to-day instruction from perpetuating archaic conceptions of our society.[2]

It is difficult, however, for teachers to re-evaluate commonly held assumptions about the operation of our political, social, and economic systems. Teachers do not have enough time to read the appropriate literature, but even if time were available most social studies teachers would still have trouble re-evaluating their conceptions of society. This outcome is related to the dominance of history in the academic preparation of most teachers. History, as a discipline, provides few concepts and/or generalizations that help interpret the contemporary world. In fact, history, even in its role as describer and interpreter of the past, has generated few concepts that go beyond everyday language. Typical historical concepts--social class, imperialism, political elite, status quo--are used by historians much as these terms would be used by laymen.

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[1] David M. Potter. People of Plenty; Economic Abundance and the American Character (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958)

[2] Part II of James Shaver and Harold Berlak's Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies is devoted to the topic of conceptions of society. The introductory essay is especially useful in defining the relationship between conceptions of society and social studies curriculum.

Fortunately, social sciences other than history have produced sophisticated concepts and generalizations. However, teachers trained primarily in history often have difficulty in understanding social science literature. To meet this need, several magazines and journals have been started to make the findings of social science comprehensible to people lacking a social science background. Examples of such publications are: Psychology Today, Transaction (sociology), Journal of Social Issues (interdisciplinary). One of the best sources of incisive analyses of American society is the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. During the last few years the Center has published a series of papers and has made available taped discussions on a variety of societal issues.

Another source of descriptions of American society is political journals. These journals range the political spectrum, from National Review to Time to New Republic to I. F. Stone's Weekly. The author has found that reading one journal to the right and another to the left of his political philosophy helps open him up to new conceptions of American society.

Constant review of his conceptions of society should help the teacher present society as it is today, not as it was ten, twenty, or even one hundred years ago. This concern for the accuracy of content is one that teachers have had for many years, and today it continues to be a central question. In an age of accelerating change and social unrest, each curriculum consumer must be sure that the curriculum he chooses takes advantage of the best available interpretations of American society.

The Structure of a Discipline

Structure is an interesting educational term in that it has another meaning that refers to objects. The word structure brings to mind houses, skyscrapers, or the wooden beams and steel girders that support buildings. Because these images are concrete, many educators are inclined to believe that the educational use of the term structure refers to a single, stable entity. But the structure of a discipline is neither singular nor static.

Each social science discipline has several structures, and these structures (or the pattern of dominance among them) change over time. The meaning of this statement can be clarified by examining the evolution of structure in one of the social sciences. Robert McNee, a geographer, notes that there are at least five major research traditions in geography:

> Physical geography, or geography as earth science; the arrangement and functioning of "natural" things on the surface of the earth.
>
> Cultural, or ecological, geography; the relationship between man and his environment.
>
> Regional geography, or area studies; what a given place is like as a "totality." (Literally, such "total" study is impossible, but such studies strive to be as inclusive and comprehensive as possible.)

> Spatial geography, or location theory; the geometry of the earth's surface; why things are arranged as they are and why there are differences in densities, dispersions, and patterns.
>
> Political geography; how the political system impresses itself on the landscape.[3]

Each of these traditions has a long history, and each one has had its time of dominance. Physical geography attracted the most attention at the turn of this century while succeeding years saw most geographers focusing on cultural geography. In the 1930's and early 1940's, regional geography has received the most attention. Although political geography has been seen by twentieth century geographers as being important, few of them have been practitioners of it.[4]

This diversity of research interests among geographers raises a serious problem in developing a geography course:

> How do we decide which among these research questions shall be emphasized? If we are talking about the way of the past, the tradition of geography, then perhaps all five research traditions should receive emphasis in proportion to the research time each has received in the past century. If we say that we want to teach the way of the present, then a course should emphasize the research questions receiving the most emphasis at the present, hoping to bring students as close as possible to the research frontiers today. However, since each of these traditions has persisted for so many years, each must ask important questions and should not be slighted. This is a problem and I do not know the answer.[5]

Certainly, selecting among structures is a difficult problem for a curriculum developer. Moreover, the fact that this dilemma exists should make the curriculum consumer skeptical of any curriculum that purports to teach students the structure of one of the disciplines or a single structure for several of the disciplines.

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[3] Robert McNee, "An Approach to Understanding the Current Structure of Geography," Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula, Report of a conference sponsored by the Social Science Education Consortium, Ed. Irving Morrissett (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 58.

[4] McNee, "Current Structure of Geography," Concepts and Structure, 58-59.

[5] McNee,"Current Structure of Geography," Concepts and Structure, 59.

Each discipline not only has structures, but in addition these structures evolve over time. The evolution of structures is rapid in the case of what some philosophers of social science have termed substantive structure. Substantive structure refers to the mixture of concepts, generalizations, and theories that are used in any one of the social sciences to conceptualize the social arena. These conceptualizations enable a social scientist to ask telling questions; the questions lead to hypotheses; and the hypotheses (if validated) often yield new complexities in the subject matter. The new complexities in turn require new conceptualizations (substantive structures), and the cycle begins again.[6]

Over a long period of time the alterations in substantive structures can be dramatic, as evidenced by the changing theories of the nature of history. History, as conceived by St. Augustine, is one part of the world created by God. The movement of history is not a meaningless succession of events; rather it is an intelligible process guided by a Divine Intelligence. More than a thousand years later, Vico, in his New Science, still used the concept Providence, but the term had lost most of its transcendent and miraculous meaning. Today it is unthinkable for a professional historian to assert that God directs the development of historical events.[7] The concepts of Divine Intelligence and Providence are no longer seen by historians as meaningful ways of interpreting the flow of history.

The dynamic quality of substantive structures and the resultant tentativity of knowledge (tentative because it is derived through the application of these structures to a field of inquiry) have direct significance for social studies courses. Instruction must impress upon students that neither substantive structures nor the knowledge developed from their application is eternal truth. Rather, both substantive structures and knowledge are continually being revised as scholars attempt to develop more precise explanations of particular phenomena. Curricula focusing on structure must present the dynamic quality of substantive structures and knowledge.

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[6] Schwab, "Structure of the Disciplines," Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies, 293-294

[7] Hans Meyerhoff, "Introduction," The Philosophy of History in Our Time (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959), 2-6.

Perhaps the best way to make students aware of the ephemeral character of knowledge is to introduce students to what Joseph Schwab terms the syntactical structure of a discipline. The syntax of a discipline refers to the way that a scholar verifies knowledge as he practices the discipline. The means of verification, often referred to as the mode(s) of inquiry, involves "determining for each discipline what it does by the way of discovery and proof, what criteria it uses for measuring the quality of its data, how strictly it can apply canons of evidence...."[8] Familiarity with syntactical structure should show students both how knowledge can be revised and that such revision is an inevitable consequence of practicing the discipline.

To show students that substantive structures are subject to revision, a social studies course based on structure could do one of several things. The course might examine briefly the history of the discipline to illustrate that many of its central concepts and theories have changed over time. Or various "schools" within a discipline (as the five research traditions in geography) can be compared in terms of substantive structure. Another alternative is to examine one or two concepts (or theories) that are no longer used by scholars but which at one time were central to a discipline.

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[8] Schwab, "Structure of the Disciplines," Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies, 295.

As the curriculum consumer examines a "structure of the discipline" curriculum proposal in terms of its structure(s), he is often faced with a serious problem. He may not be familiar with the substantive and syntactical structures of the various social science disciplines. Especially in the case of syntax, he may lack training. Whatever information he has concerning the process of inquiry probably comes from a "methods of social science" or "historiography" course. "Teachers" Shaver and Berlak note,"may have learned about but rarely have engaged in any long-term social science inquiry of their own. As a consequence, they have very little applied knowledge of research concepts and strategies."[9] Judging the validity of a curriculum's structure(s) is difficult for most teachers.

Yet even if teachers were prepared to evaluate the conceptions of structure found in various curricula, they would soon be driven to a state of confusion. They would find that just as each discipline has multiple structures, the concept of structure itself is interpreted in many ways. Schwab's distinction between substantive and syntactical structures is by no means commonly accepted. Robert McNee defines geography's structure in terms of research traditions and certain factors that have held geography together as a single discipline.[10]

Other definitions of structure are so vague that it is difficult to compare them to Schwab. Jerome Bruner, for example, speaks of

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[9] Shaver and Berlak, Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies, 261. The questions raised in this subsection of chapter VIII are similar to those identified by Shaver and Berlak in their introductory essay entitled, "The Social Sciences and the Curriculum." See especially pp. 260-263.

[10] McNee, "Current Structure of Geography," Concepts and Structure, 57-60.

"fundamental ideas" and indicates that "to learn structure ... is to learn how things are related."[11] Bruner's lack of precision is especially important in that he has had considerable impact on those involved in new social studies curricula. An indication of Bruner's influence is given by McNee's introduction to his paper: "My first assumption is that the principle objective of a geography course should be to communicate 'the geographer's way.' In short, I am a Brunerite."[12]

Up to this point the discussion of structure has raised a number of issues, but it has not provided concrete guidance for the curriculum consumer. Reviewing the major points of the discussion and suggesting relevant questions may give direction to the curriculum consumer's analysis of structure(s) of the disciplines curricula.

Structure, as noted earlier, is not a single entity. Therefore, one basic analytical question refers to the conception of structure presented in a curriculum: Does the curriculum recognize that several structures exist for any one discipline? This question is not intended to suggest that a curriculum should not be based on a single structure; such a choice could be defended, both on considerations of time and of current scholarly consensus (if it exists). However, any curriculum that focuses on a single structure has the minimal obligation of telling students about any other structures within a particular discipline.

A second characteristic of structure is that it evolves. Evolution is probably most apparent in the substantive structures, though syntax may also change over time. An obvious question is: Is structure acknowledged to be dynamic? Acknowledgement may entail the study, in the curriculum, of "outdated" structures, or the study of new structures that have not yet gained widespread acceptance. Whatever is done must convey to the student that the structure(s) being emphasized in a curriculum is not necessarily permanent.

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[11] Bruner, Process of Education, 7, 17-32.

[12] McNee, "Current Structure of Geography," Concepts and Structure, 57.

The study of disciplinary structures is not central to the training of teachers and administrators. Judgments of the authenticity of particular structures can probably best be made by social science scholars. As a result, it is appropriate to ask: Has the conception of structure(s) contained in a curriculum been analyzed by social scientists not involved in the development of the materials? The question in this case is whether the structure(s) on which materials are based is authentic from the point of view of a scholar. Judgments of authenticity may be especially important when there are small differences in effects. "If we do this," says Michael Scriven, "then relatively minor improvements in performances, on the right goals, become very valuable...."[13]

Conclusion

In order to judge the validity of content, either images of social reality or structure, the curriculum consumer must read not only the intentions stated by the curriculum developer but especially the student materials. Only after looking at student materials can one estimate to what extent the curriculum conveys to students accurate conceptions of social reality and valid structures of the discipline.

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[13] Scriven, "The Methodology of Evaluation," Perspectives, 62.

IX. IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

The issues described in this chapter relate neither to the quality nor to the effectiveness of particular curriculum materials. Rather, the focus is on the school situation in which the materials are to be used. Three sets of issues--antecedent conditions, unintended consequences, and financial considerations--are examined.

Antecedent conditions refers to prior skills, interests, and knowledge that students and/or teachers must have to successfully use a curriculum. Here the attempt is to identify critical characteristics that must be present in the school situation in order to forecast probable success. However, even if success is attained, other results may occur that were not intended. Predicting such unintended consequences may either change one's mind about an innovation or suggest steps that need to be taken to anticipate possible consequences. One last factor, so important that it may overrule many other considerations, is cost.

Antecedent Conditions

One set of antecedent conditions involves reading level and conceptual difficulty of materials in relation to student capability. The question to be asked might be phrased as follows: Are the reading level and the complexity of ideas appropriate to the students? Although some evaluation evidence may be available to help answer this question, it is more likely that a teacher will have to make this judgment. However, teachers should have little difficulty making such an assessment because they frequently judge the vocabulary and conceptual difficulty of curriculum materials.

A more difficult judgment is assessing the skills and attitudes that teachers need in order to be able to function successfully with a new curriculum. Some of the new social studies curricula, for example, assume the teacher will construct situations in which the students do most of the thinking. To be specific, making inferences from data is to be done by students, not by the teacher. Or construing the issue is often to be done by students. However, many teachers feel uncomfortable in a role where they are not in firm control of the teaching situation.

A related problem is the need many teachers feel for closure. Not only do they see themselves as the master of the teaching situation, but in addition they are reluctant to leave issues unresolved. Children need, many teachers feel, firm answers both to normative and empirical questions. Not only can a drive toward closure do violence to complex empirical issues as well as to ethical issues, but in addition closure imposed by the teacher is inconsistent with many of the inquiry curricula.[1] Inquiry presupposes openness and lack of resolution of many issues. No doubt a teacher who deeply values closure can misuse inquiry curricula.

Wanting to be in firm control of the teaching situation and feeling the need for closure are teacher attitudes that may be in conflict with many of the new curricula. A teacher may also lack fundamental skills that are necessary for successful use of new curricula. For example, the teacher may himself be unable to make distinctions that he is supposed to teach young people; he may not be able to differentiate between normative and empirical issues so that it is impossible to teach the youngsters this distinction. Another possibility is that the teacher lacks particular teaching techniques that are essential to the new curricula. No doubt teachers may lack other essential skills. Even if teachers have the necessary competencies, they may still profit considerably from supervised teaching of the new materials.

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[1] It is useful to distinguish between divergent and convergent inquiry. Inquiry in general refers to the asking of questions not specifically answered in the student material, often primary sources. Divergent inquiry can be defined as open-ended questions, perhaps difficult questions of historical interpretation or ethical issues that involve value choices. On the other hand, convergent inquiry can be seen as the posing of questions to which there are answers, provided the student carefully reads and interprets the student materials. It is divergent inquiry that is in conflict with the drive for

The reader may feel that the author has painted an unnecessarily pessimistic picture of the attitudes and competencies of experienced teachers. Certainly, many teachers make not only legitimate but also creative use of new curricula. Yet other teachers misuse, even mutilate, new materials. In order to minimize this misuse, which ultimately affects the quality of learning by students, curriculum consumers must ask: What attitudes and skills do teachers need to teach the materials.?

It is quite possible that some teachers will never be able to teach new materials in a way consistent with the intentions of the curricula. No matter what in-service training is constructed, these teachers may not change. Perhaps they are unable to change persisting patterns of behavior, or maybe they are unwilling to change because they are not committed to the intentions of new curricula.

Lack of commitment to an innovation is a common reason for its failure. Lack of commitment may result from the imposition, or the perceived imposition, of the innovation by the administrative hierarchy. Apathy toward the innovation may occur because the person was not in the original group that pilot tested the materials. Or the lack of interest in the innovation may merely be a defense against having to teach a new way. Regardless of its source, indifference to an innovation has serious consequences.

Members of the teaching and administrative staff who want to implement new materials are annoyed by the apathy of their colleagues. Cliques may develop so that it becomes difficult for the faculty to work together for common purposes. Bad feelings may be aroused to the point that some staff members try to sabotage the innovative efforts of fellow faculty members.

Under such circumstances the antecedent conditions in the school context inhibit innovation.

The curriculum consumer, therefore, needs to ask: Is it wiser to have all teachers, regardless of personal preferences, use the new materials or to permit teachers opposed to the new materials to maintain their established courses? Diversity in curricula, despite its practical problems may enable innovations to be effectively implemented, at least by those who are interested. And diversity also enables each faculty member to choose whether to participate in the implementation of an innovation.

Unintended Consequences

When new materials are introduced in a school, the intention is, ultimately, to affect what young people learn. Helping the curriculum consumer judge the worthiness of intents is the focus of a major portion of this paper. Intents, once they are judged to be worthwhile, become intended consequences, i.e., the intents are desired outcomes to be realized through the study of a particular set of materials.

Consequences other than the intended ones may result from the implementation of a new set of materials. These unintended consequences can be either desirable or undesirable. In practice, one often has difficulty deciding whether an unintended consequence is desirable or undesirable. For example, it is not uncommon for youngsters to carry over into other classes the attitudes and skills learned in social studies. If a new social studies course emphasizes having the student evaluate data, he tends to want to do the same in other classes. Teachers in other departments may not want to have students evaluate data or disagree with them. These teachers may become quite concerned about the activities of the social studies department. On the other hand, students are confused by the dual standards within the faculty.

Is this unintended consequence, the transferring of learning from one class to another, desirable or undesirable? Such a judgment may depend on who you are. A principal could be pleased because this development helps him stir up certain faculty members, yet he may also be faced with a polarized staff. A teacher involved in the new curricula may be disgusted with his colleagues who do not share his commitments. The teachers who are unhappy with the new materials probably see the innovation as undermining their authority in the classroom.

The example described above illustrates how an innovation could affect, in an unintended way, a large segment of the school environment. Most unintended consequences are narrower in scope, though they may be serious in impact. A school, for instance, may decide to throw out the entire social studies curriculum. This decision means that next year the staff will teach an entirely new course in tenth grade, while eleventh grade will be changed the following year, and twelfth the next. Tenth grade, after its first year of trial, will probably need to be revised for several years. Meanwhile, eleventh and twelfth grades are being initially tried and then revised in subsequent years. All this effort consumes tremendous amounts of energy, leaving the staff little time to insure that the three grades are articulated. Moreover, staff members teaching at more than one grade level may find the experience so exhausting that their teaching efficiency actually drops. Students may be excited, yet confused, by the new courses.

Much simpler unintended consequences may occur. A new curriculum may entail a large number of student handouts with no provisions made for secretarial staff. As a result, teachers not only have to cope with teaching the new curriculum, but in addition they must type, duplicate, and collate the materials. A new curriculum may eliminate some very exciting courses that individual teachers have developed over a period of time; these teachers may feel bitter toward the new curriculum. The new curriculum, if it is tightly developed and contains detailed lesson plans, may cause the teacher to lose his sense of being an autonomous, creative person. No doubt there are many other examples of unintended consequences.

Before selecting a set of materials to be implemented, the curriculum consumer must ask himself: What unintended consequences are likely to result from the introduction of new materials? A further question can be posed: Are potential unintended consequences deisrable or undesirable?

Of the two questions, the first one, concerning the prediction of unintended consequences, is probably the more difficult to answer. While preparing to write this chapter, the author discovered some predictions he had made several years ago about a curriculum project that was just beginning. Several of the predictions were accurate, and others were not; however, what proved ultimately to be the most important unintended consequences were not even mentioned.

One of the best ways of accurately predicting unintended consequences is talking with educators who have attempted implementation of new curricula. If such discussion is not possible, then at least one has the concept of unintended consequences to help him anticipate outcomes other than the intended ones.

Financial Considerations

The most obvious financial question is the following: What is the cost of the materials per pupil each year? To arrive at a figure, estimates of cost per pupil and durability must be made. Cost per pupil divided by the number of years the materials can be used yields the estimated cost per pupil per year.

Another potential expense is revealed by the question: What new equipment and/or facilities are necessary for teaching the new materials? In the case of materials that stress student research, the size of the library and the nature of its collection must be taken into consideration. Materials with a major audio-visual component may require the purchase of overhead projectors and other equipment. An analysis must be made of the reading material, the library space, and the equipment needed for effective implementation of new materials.

Judging the cost per pupil each year and the necessary support equipment and facilities should be relatively easy. A more difficult problem is deciding: What funds can be allocated for in-service training of teachers. The word can is used because the author's experience indicates that too little money is available for in-service training.

Few teachers handle new social studies curricula well in their initial efforts. Some improve gradually as they gain experience with new materials. However, an amazingly large percentage of teachers fail not only in the beginning but also in their subsequent efforts. In many cases teachers are unaware that they are "failing", i.e., misconstruing the intents of a curriculum, understanding the intents but not being able to use appropriate teaching strategies. Patterns of teacher behavior tend to persist; the resulting course may be new more in name than in intentions and strategies.

Some school districts use a series of after-school discussions to familiarize the social studies staff with the intents of a new curriculum. Discussions among teachers can help clarify these intents. But such discussions usually are not productive in connecting teaching strategies to intents; it is difficult, most difficult, to meaningfully relate strategies and intents through abstract discussion.

An alternative to discussion is supervised practice in teaching the new materials. The easiest and probably most effective way of conducting a teaching workshop is to use classes from the district's summer school. The workshop teachers can instruct several summer school classes using the new materials. There are several prerequisites for the success of a summer workshop. Teachers must be adequately compensated for attending. In addition, someone familiar with the new materials must be available to lead the workshop. And there must be time not only to teach the materials but also to analyze the teaching, especially the use of teaching techniques appropriate to the intents of a daily lesson or of a unit.

If the district is unable to afford a workshop, then it ought to facilitate communication between teachers learning to teach new materials. Perhaps a common free period could be scheduled for these teachers. Or they could be given adjoining rooms to teach in. Another possibility is having a common office area for teachers introducing new materials. None of these provisions, however, gives the intensity of experience available to teachers who observe each other using new materials and analyze the results.

Conclusion

Failure to consider implementation issues carefully can lead to discouraging results. New materials may not be comprehensible to youngsters, or teachers may not be able to use appropriate teaching strategies. It is also possible that unintended consequences may create as many problems as were "solved" through the introduction of new materials. Over all of these concerns float the storm clouds of economy in education. Sometimes there are showers, but all too often good plans are washed away.

X. CONCLUSION

The author suspects that the decision-making model outlined in this paper may be viewed from one of two conflicting perspectives. Some may see the model as a biased, narrow approach to the problem of selecting among curricula. Indeed, the approach may be biased in the sense that the emphasis is on choosing a new curriculum and implementing it consistent with the intentions of the developer. Little attention is given to ways a district could incorporate a set of new materials into an ongoing K-12 curriculum. The approach may be narrow in that a relatively small number of questions forms the basis for selection of materials.

Others may see the decision-making model as too open-ended. The questions, for instance, generate masses of data. Rather than simplifying the issue of selection, the questions seem to complicate it. The model may also be viewed as too open-ended in that it establishes no clear priorities among the categories of questions. That is, no assessment is made of the comparative importance of the questions dealing with citizenship, evaluation, validity of content, and implementation.

The author finds himself in partial agreement with each of these criticisms of the decision-making model. However, several of the potential criticisms appear to be inevitable outcomes of creating a model. For instance, since the issue of selecting among curricula is terribly complex, any attempt to specify essential categories in this process appears of necessity to be narrow. A limited number of questions are derived from the categories. To some people, nevertheless, the questions, because they yield so much data, actually complicate the process of selecting among curricula. Certainly the process could be made even simpler if questions similar to the ones discussed in chapter two are posed. But asking stylistic and accuracy of content questions provides far too narrow a focus and, as a result, is not as likely to lead to a wise decision as are questions involving intentions and evaluation of outcomes as well as validity of content and implementation. The best approach, therefore, is to develop questions that help reduce the complexity of the selection problem without over-simplifying the problem to the point of omitting crucial categories of questions.

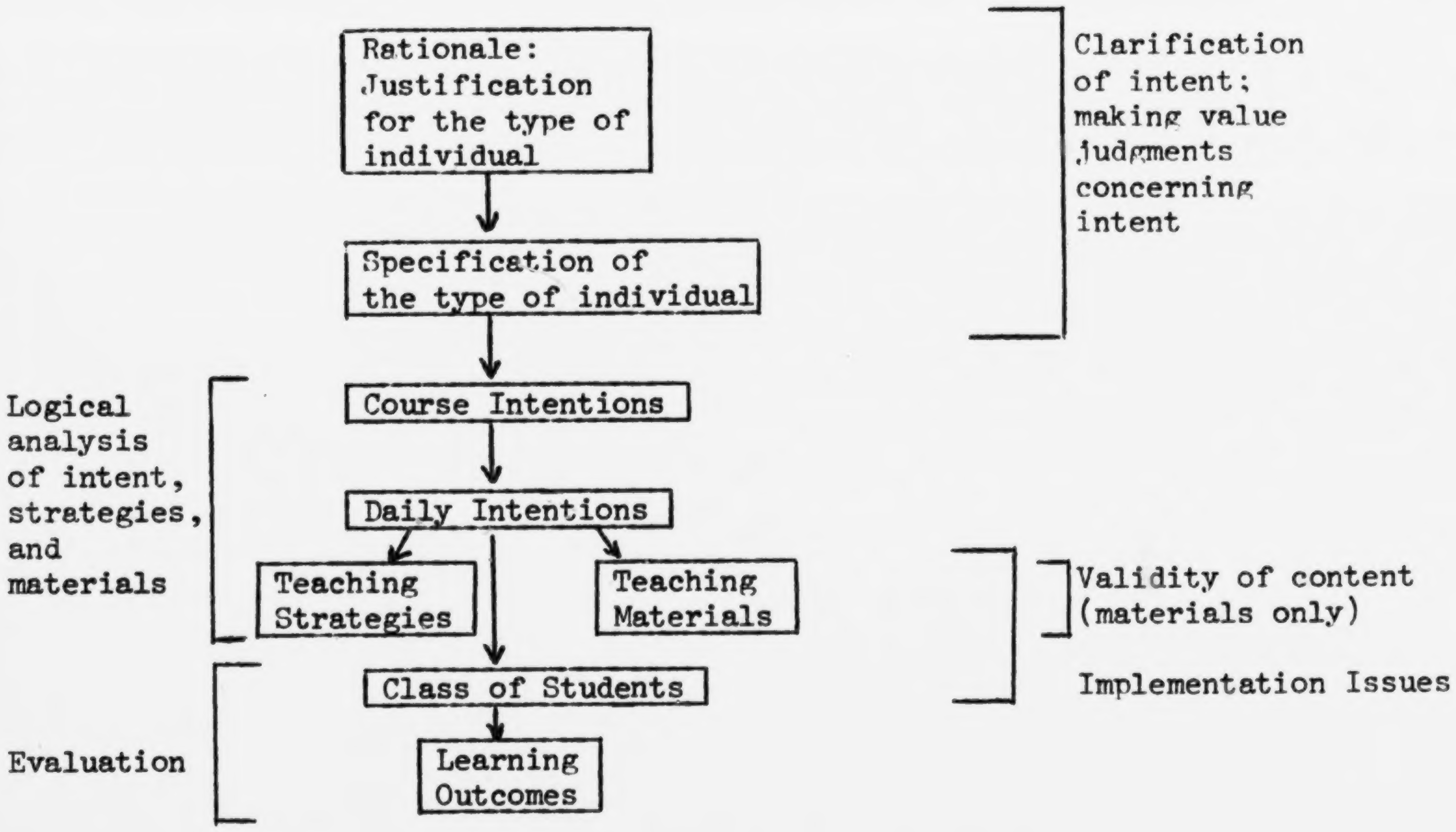
The author believes that he has achieved a reasonable balance between complexity and simplicity. The questions in the model represent a variety of categories; in this sense complexity has been maintained. Yet there are not so many questions that the approach loses its simplicity and becomes impractical.

Even though a balance exists between simplicity and complexity, there are enough categories of questions to require establishing priorities among the categories. The paper has identified at least four categories of questions: citizenship education (sub-categories of clarification of intent; logical analysis of intents, strategies, and materials; and curricular intent: making value judgments), curriculum evaluation, validity of content, and implementation issues. A diagram illustrating the position of these categories in relation to each other is contained in Figure IX.

Some of these categories involve curriculum analysis, i.e., deciding whether the intents of a curriculum are worthwhile. Categories falling into the area of curriculum analysis include: clarification of intent, making value judgments concerning intent, validity of content, and implementation. The first three categories deal with the desirability of intents while the last category, implementation, concerns the appropriateness of a curriculum to a particular school district. Both

Figure IX

Categories of Questions


Rationale: Justification for the type of individual
Specification of the type of individual
Course Intentions
Daily Intentions
Teaching Strategies
Teaching Materials
Class of Students
Learning Outcomes
Clarification of intent; making value judgments concerning intent
Logical analysis of intent, strategies, and materials
Validity of content (materials only)
Implementation Issues
Evaluation

desirability and appropriateness are factors in judging how worthwhile the intents of a curriculum are.

Two other categories, evaluation and logical analysis of intents, strategies and materials -- relate to curriculum evaluation which is the measurement of learning outcomes. Evaluation studies are a direct attempt to measure outcomes. Since evaluation studies are often either not done or done in a way that fails to have clear implications for decision making, one must often rely on logical analysis. If intents are internally consistent and consistent with teaching materials and strategies, then one can infer that the outcomes can be achieved when the curriculum is used with students. Because outcomes are measured in terms of objectives derived from a statement of the ideal individual, clarification of intent questions can be considered to be part of curriculum evaluation as well as part of curriculum analysis. It should be evident that the author emphasizes questions related to curriculum analysis more than those related to curriculum evaluation. What difference does it make how well intents are achieved unless they are worth achieving? Within the domain of curriculum analysis the more important categories seem to be clarification of intent and making value judgments about intent. These two categories help the curriculum consumer define a desirable intent. Desirability, the author believes, is the essence of worthwhileness.

Choosing to emphasize curriculum analysis over curriculum evaluation seems to ignore the idea that a curriculum must affect youngsters if it is to accomplish its ultimate purpose: creating a particular type of individual. Yet evaluation studies, as they are presently conducted, do not produce results with clear implications for decision making. However, attention can be given to logical analysis so that estimates can be made of probable impact of materials on youngsters. Considering that evaluation yields less useful evidence than is commonly believed, it seems reasonable to give priority to the categories related to curriculum analysis.

APPENDIX

Analytical Questions

I. Clarification of Intent (pp. 38-45)

- A. What kind of an individual does a curriculum seek to develop? (pp.38-39)
- B. What is the rationale (reasoned argument) for wanting to develop a particular kind of individual? (pp. 39-40) Each rationale contains a societal framework for its conception of citizenship education. (pp. 40-41)
  1. If the social context is implicit, then one can ask: What assumptions concerning society are behind the conception of the ideal individual? (pp. 41-42)
  2. If the social context is explicit, then one can ask: (a) What evidence is cited to support the empirical statements in the framework? and (b) In what ways are the normative statements in the framework defended? (pp. 42-43)

II. Logical Analysis of Intents, Strategies, and Materials (pp. 45-51)

- A. To what extent can the intents of a course be accomplished in the available time? (pp. 45-46)
- B. Are the intents of a course both internally consistent and implemented through the daily intentions? (pp. 46-48)
- C. Are the teaching materials appropriate for achieving the daily and course intentions? (pp. 48-49)
- D. Are the proposed teaching strategies appropriate both to the daily intents and to the teaching materials? (p. 49)

III. Curricular Intent: Making Value Judgments (pp. 51-60)

- A. Is the ideal individual proposed by a curriculum closer to a scholarly man or to the public man? (pp. 51-55)
- B. Which factor is given preference when one must choose between: an intent, unclear and inconsistent, but compatible with his own and a clear and consistent intent representing an orientation differing from his own? (pp. 55-57)

IV. Curriculum Evaluation (pp. 61-68)

- A. Is there evidence concerning the magnitude of an experimental curriculum's effects in relation to the effects of other curricula? (pp. 63-34)
- B. If the differences in effects are small, can this outcome be attributed to inadequate test questions, single-push approach, single score test? (pp. 64-66)

C. Are appropriate sampling techniques -- for students, teachers, and schools -- used so that the evaluation findings can be generalized to classrooms across the country? (pp. 66-68)

V. Validity of Content (pp. 69-78)

A. Do the social science concepts and/or generalizations in a curriculum represent social reality accurately? (pp. 69-72)

B. Does the curriculum recognize that several structures exist for any one discipline? (pp. 72-77)

C. Is structure acknowledged to be dynamic? (pp. 72-78)

D. Has the conception of structure(s) contained in a curriculum been analyzed by social scientists not involved in the development of the materials? (p. 78)

VI. Implementation Issues (pp. 79-86)

A. Are the reading level and the complexity of ideas appropriate to the students? (p. 79)

B. What attitudes and skills do teachers need to teach the new materials? (pp. 79-81)

C. Is it wiser to have all teachers, regardless of personal preferences, use the new materials or to permit teachers opposed to the new materials to maintain their established courses? (pp. 81-82)

D. What unintended consequences are likely to result from the introduction of new materials? Are potential unintended consequences desirable or undesirable? (pp. 84-85)

E. What is the cost of the new materials per pupil each year? (pp. 84-85)

F. What new equipment and/or facilities are necessary for teaching the new materials? (p. 85)

G. What funds can be allocated for in-service training of teachers? (pp. 85-86)

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